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THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

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MEN AND WOMEN EMINENT IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN OF AFRICAN DESCENT

BY

JOHN W. CROMWELL

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Washington, D. C.

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DEDICATION

Oh! Sing it in the light of freedom's morn,
Tho' tyrant wars have made the earth a grave;
The good, the great, and true, are, if so, born,
And so with slaves, *chains do not make the slave!*
If high-souled birth be what the mother gave,—
If manly birth, and manly to the core,—
Whate'er the test, the man will he behave!
Crush him to earth, and crush him o'er and o'er,
A MAN he'll rise at last and meet you as before.

—A. A. Whitman.

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FOREWORD

It is not my purpose to write a history of the United States nor of any period of that history. The Negro is so interwoven with the growth and development of the American Nation that a history of him as an important element, during little more than a century of which he has been a factor, becomes a task of peculiar difficulty. In the few pages that follow, mine is a much more simple and humble task—to indicate some of the more important points of the contact of the Nation and the Negro; to tell how the former in its evolution has been affected by the presence and the status of the latter; and to trace the transformation of the bondman and savage stolen from Africa to his freedom and citizenship in the United States, and to his recognition as such in the fundamental law, and by an increasing public sentiment of the country.

The rise to eminence of representative men and women in both Church and State, as educators, statesmen, artists, and men of affairs, will be cited for the emulation of our youth who are so liable from the scant mention of such men and women in the histories which they study and the books they read, to conclude that only the lowest and most menial avenues of service are open to them.

Well nigh ten years ago Mrs. Charles Bartlett Dykes, formerly of the Leland-Stanford, Jr., University, while an instructor in a Summer School at the Hampton N. & A. Institute, gave this result of studies made with six hundred colored pupils in certain near-by primary schools. She had asked two questions that were fully explained:

(a) Do you want to be rich? If so, why? If not, why not? The answers were almost without exception, "No." The reason given was "because we cannot go to Heaven."
(b) Do you want to be famous? If so, why? If not, why not? The answers were almost uniformly, "No, because it is *impossible.*"

This voiced the despair of the average colored child in the common schools right under the guns of Fortress Monroe, where the first schools for colored children in the Southland were opened nearly forty years before.

A test somewhat similar, in several of the public schools in Washington produced practically the same result. The remedy suggested by Mrs. Dykes for such a condition was the preparation of "a first book in American history, in which the story of at least twelve of the really eminent men and women of African descent" would give a stimulus to tens of thousands of youth in our schools, who in their formative period learn little or nothing of their kith or kin that is meritorious or inspiring. This necessity formally set forth by Mrs. Dykes, confirmed by my own conclusions based on an experience in the schoolroom covering twenty years, leads me to attempt the publication of a book which shall give to teachers and secondary pupils especially the salient points in the history of the American Negro, the story of their most eminent men and women and a bibliography that will guide those desirous of making further study and investigation.

The author has not been handicapped by dearth of material in the selection of the men and the women whose careers he has aimed to trace, his main purpose having been to consider representative types whose careers afford side-lights of the growth and development of the American Negro and who at the same time are worthy of emulation. Others, perhaps, quite as conspicuous, might be preferred by some as equally deserving

of notice, yet on the whole we think it will be the verdict of competent and impartial judges that none herein named could have been excluded from consideration. Obviously only those still living could be the subjects of notice who have reached the acme of their career. The preëminence of Booker T. Washington, because of the establishment of Tuskegee and the recognized place of industrial training in the public mind, is a fact, while the art of Tanner is conceded in salons and art galleries of America and Europe.

To Dr. James R. L. Diggs of Selma University, Chaplain Theophilus G. Steward of Wilberforce University, T. Thomas Fortune, L. M. Hershaw, Wm. C. Bolivar, Daniel A. Murray of the Library of Congress and A. A. Schomburg, he acknowledges indebtedness for many helpful suggestions in the development, progress and completion of this work.

John W. Cromwell.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY

I

DISCOVERY, COLONIZATION, SLAVERY

THE discovery and colonization of America was primarily for greed, and this dominant principle was illustrated in different stages of the growth and development of the country. Spain, which in the sixteenth century was not only a world-wide power, but one of the greatest of modern times, bore a very important part in the conquest and settlement of the New World. It was mainly her capital, her merchantmen, that plowed the main, her capital and the patronage of her sovereigns that led. The Dutch and the English followed in the rear. Settlements in North America and the West Indies were made by her sons early in the sixteenth century, but it was one hundred years after, at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, that the English made the first permanent settlement within the continental limits of the United States of America.

In the early voyages it was not at all remarkable that Negroes were found as sailors, though slaves. It is well authenticated that in the explorations of Narvaez and among the survivors of the Coronado expedition was Estevan, a black, who was guide to Friar Marcoz in 1539 in the search for the Seven Cities of Cibola. The celebrated anthropologist Quatrefages in "The Human Species" strongly intimates that Africa had its share

in the peopling and the settlement of some sections of South America.

The exception but proves the rule that the Negro came to the New World as a slave. He was stolen from or bought on the West Coast of Africa to add to the wealth of America by his toil as bondman and laborer.

Slavery was first introduced in America on the island of Hispaniola (Haiti) where the aborigines of America and the West Indies had been found not sufficiently robust for the work in the mines and the plantations. Large numbers of Negroes were imported by the Portuguese, who owned the great portion of the African coast then known, into Europe a half century before the discovery of America.[1] To Las Casas who pleaded the cause of the poor American Indian who had been enslaved in the New World, large responsibility for importing the African must be given notwithstanding the opposition of Cardinal Ximines, then regent of Spain. Las Casas lived to regret the part he played by his fateful suggestion.

To supply this labor the Slave Trade, as it became known, was begun. La Bresa, a Flemish favorite of Charles V having obtained from the king a patent containing an exclusive right of annually importing four thousand Negroes into America, sold it to some Genoese merchants who first brought into a regular form the commerce for slaves between Africa and America.[2]

Sir John Hawkins made three trips to America from the West Coast of Africa between 1563 and 1567, taking with him several hundred of the natives whom he sold as slaves. Queen Elizabeth became a partner in this nefarious traffic. So elated was she at its profits that she knighted him, and he most happily selected for his crest a Negro head and bust with arms tightly pinioned. It was a lucrative business and though it at first shocked the sensibilities of Christian nations and rulers, they

[1] Bancroft, Vol. I.
[2] Spanish Conquest of America, Vol. I.

Branding a Female Slave.

soon reconciled themselves not only to the traffic, but introduced the servitude as part of the economic system of their dependences in America. That it became a fixture after its introduction in these colonies was due to the prerogative of the Home Government rather than to the importunities of the colonists, especially because it was a source of revenue to the Crown.

Within twelve years after its settlement, a Dutch man-of-war landed in September, 1619, a cargo of twenty slaves at Jamestown in Virginia.

Beginning with this introduction in Virginia slavery gradually made its way into all the thirteen colonies, and received the sanction of their several legislatures. Contrary to general belief, "Negro Slavery in the colonies never existed" nor was it originally established *by law*, but it rested wholly on custom.[3] "Slavery where it existed, being the creature of custom, required positive law to establish or control it." In Virginia the acts first passed were "for the mere regulation of servants, the legal distinction between servants for a term of years (white immigrants under indenture), and servants for life (slaves)." The civil law rule as to descent was adopted by statute December 14, 1662. Eight years later, October 3, 1670, servants not Christians imported by shipping were declared slaves for life. Slavery was thus legalized in this colony.

In Maryland, slaves were first mentioned incidentally in a proposed law of 1638, four years after its settlement. The Swedes prohibited its establishment in Delaware, but the Dutch introduced it and gave it its first legal recognition in 1721, though it had existed in the colony as early as 1666.

In North Carolina white slavery was provided for in the Locke Constitution of 1673.[4] In South Carolina the first legislation respecting it was February 7, 1690, before the two colonies were separated. The charter of Georgia prohibited slavery at

[3] Lalor's Cyclopedia, Vol. III. Holmes Amer. Annals, Vol. I.
[4] Locke Brittanica Encyclopedia.

the time of the establishment of the colony by Oglethorpe in 1733, but owing to popular clamor this prohibition was repealed in 1749 and the first legislative recognition of slavery was in 1755.[5]

Although slavery existed in Pennsylvania from the establishment of the colony, and was due to the Germans rather than the Quakers, a protest against it was made in 1688 by the Germantown Quakers. This was the first formal action against slavery since its introduction. In 1700 the legislature forbade selling beyond the borders of the State without the consent of the slave.

The Dutch have also the responsibility of bringing slavery into New Jersey, where it received its first legal recognition in 1664. It was in 1626 while New York was the Dutch colony of New Netherlands that African serfdom was introduced, but it received legal recognition in 1665.[6] The traffic was never directly specifically established in Connecticut by statute, and the time of its introduction is unknown.[7] In Rhode Island, May 19, 1652, the first act for the abolition of slavery was passed, but the law was not enforced.

In Massachusetts slavery was incidentally recognized in 1633. In 1636, a Salem ship began the importation of slaves from the West Indies, but in 1641 it was forbidden in the fundamental law. The statutes of New Hampshire show only two legal recognitions of slavery, by acts of 1714 and 1718, to regulate the conduct of servants and slaves and masters.

There was some difference between slavery in the North and in the South. This may be attributable to economic rather than to any moral causes. The African was fitted for service only as an agricultural laborer, and the character, size and location of the farms in New England and the Middle States in-

[5] Lalor's Cyclopedia.
[6] Lalor's Cyclopedia.
[7] Slavery in New York, an historical sketch, A. Judd Northrup.

hibited the rapid growth and extension of chattel slavery in this section, whereas the raising of tobacco in Virginia, rice in South Carolina, also cotton, favored the employment of a large number of slaves in the southern section of our country. In both North and South the status of the slave was the same. In the eyes of the law he was a thing, a piece of personal property, and the laws recognizing and regulating it were framed with rigidity and executed with severity. By 1775 more than 300,000 Negroes were in the colonies along the coast from Maine to Georgia, distributed as follows: In New England, 25,000; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, 50,000; in the remaining colonies of Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina and Georgia, 425,000. Relatively there were at this time 42 whites to 1 black in New England, 13 whites to 1 black in the middle colonies, while in the five southern colonies last mentioned the slave population was more than that of the whites.[8]

While the objection to the idea of property in man was the prevailing rule, it was by no means universal. Protests against it were by individuals rather than by communities and classes. Exception must be made as to the Quakers, whose protest in Germantown has already been instanced. They followed this up by an appeal in 1696 against any of their religious belief bringing in any more Negroes, and by their action at intervals in the eighteenth century. The majority of the men who cried aloud and spared not were the followers of George Fox. The circulation of the celebrated tract, "The Selling of Joseph" by the Colonial Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, was also a great factor in the growth of sentiment against slavery.

[8] Estimated. See The Status of the Slave, 1775–1789, J. R. Brackett; The Const. History of the American People, Vol. I, F. R. Thorpe.

II

THE SLAVE CODE

THE Slave Code embodies statutes which show in an unmistakable manner the attitude of the colonies in different times and sections toward the enslaved African. So great a shock to the Christian religion was the idea of holding property in man when first suggested, that one of the first excuses was that the African was a heathen whom slavery would convert; then when the injustice of holding a fellow Christian in bonds was apparent, it was affirmed by statute that "conversion to or acceptance of Christianity does not presume or effect manumission either in person or posterity" so legislated Maryland in 1692, and Virginia in 1705 endorsed the doctrine. An act was passed in 1706 to encourage the baptizing of Negro, Indian or mulatto slaves and although a Virginia statute of 1682 had freed Negroes "born of Christian parents in England, the Spanish colonies, the English colonies and other Christian lands," it was virtually repealed by an act of 1705.

In the statutes of the colony of Virginia we note, "The Appearance of Negro, Indian and mulatto slaves after nightfall in the streets without a lighted candle was forbidden and none were permitted to absent themselves from a master's plantation without written certificate." This law was published every six months at the county court and the parish churches. It was specially designed to prevent the possibility of servile insurrections. Slaves accompanying their masters to free territory did not become free, ruled Lord Hardwicke and Lord Talbot in 1729; but forty-three years later Lord Mansfield in the

Somerset case declared that as soon as a slave set foot on the soil of the British Island he became free.

The emancipation of the slave in many colonies was impossible only in meritorious cases except by permission from a governor for which a license had to be issued. Such an instance was where "Will" was emancipated by the General Assembly of Virginia because he had been signally serviceable in discovering a conspiracy of divers Negroes in the county of Surry for levying war on the colony of Virginia. He was the slave of Elizabeth, the widow of Benjamin Harrison. The similarity of the name to that of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the father of one of the Presidents and the great-grandfather of another, is at least suggestive.

Not only was emancipation thus carefully guarded, but to steal a slave was a capital offense punishable by death. Should a slave, who resisted his master or one acting under his authority while administering punishment, meet with death, the master or his agent was not guilty of a felony. The carrying of arms either for defense or offense without special written certificate was punishable with a penalty of from 20 to 39 lashes.

A statute was passed in 1764 ordering collars to be put on slaves to prevent their escape. Two unique advertisements further indicate the low estimate placed on the bondman. One from the London *Gazette* advertises for Col. Kirk's runaway black boy upon whose silver collar the inscription was, "My Lady Bromfield's black in Lincoln Inn Fields" and in the London *Advertiser* of 1756 a goldsmith in Westminster announces that he makes silver padlocks for blacks' or dogs' collars.

It could not be expected that the slave would be permitted to read and write, yet in 1744 Dr. Bearcroft[1] of South Carolina refers to the purchase of two young Negroes when thoroughly qualified to become schoolmasters among their fellows. One such school was actually opened in Charleston, S. C., in which

[1] Special Report U. S. Com. of Education 1870, p. 363.

more than "sixty young Negroes were put under instruction, two-thirds of whom were sent out annually well-instructed in religion and capable of reading their Bible, who may carry home and diffuse this same knowledge which they shall have been taught among their poor relations and fellow slaves. And in time schools will be opened in other places and in other colonies to teach them to believe in the Son of God who shall make them free." But ninety years after, in the same State it was enacted, "If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write such person if a free white person, shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars for such offence, and imprisonment not less than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes and fined not exceeding fifty dollars; and if a slave to be whipped at the discretion of the court, not exceeding fifty lashes, the informer to be entitled to one-half of the fine, and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color, he shall be liable to the same penalties prescribed by this act on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to write."[2]

Slaves were prohibited under the penalty of death from the preparation or administering of any medicine whatever save with the full knowledge and consent of masters.

There was a relaxation of these strict regulations in some of the Northern colonies. As early as 1643 and 1646 several Negroes appear on the records of New York, then under the control of the Dutch, as land patentees.[3] When enfranchised, as was possible even in those early days, he might and did obtain a freehold.[4] Many scarcely appeared to know they were in bondage as they danced merrily as the best in kermis at Christ-

[2] Payne's' "Seventy Years."
[3] Dunlop's History of New Netherlands, Vol. I, 59.
[4] Brodhead's 748.

mas and Pinkster. This, however, was exceptional. Without going into particulars the general condition was, as it has been summarized in Stroud's Slave Law: "as the incidents of slavery—

First.—The master may determine the kind and degree and time of labor to which the slave shall be subjected.

Second.—The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and to quality as he may think proper or find convenient.

Third.—He may exercise his discretion as to the kind of punishment to be administered.

Fourth.—All power over the slave may be exercised by himself or another.

Fifth.—Slaves have no legal rights of property in things real or personal; whatever they acquire belongs in point of law to the master.

Sixth.—Being a personal chattel the slave is at all times liable to be sold absolutely or mortgaged or leased.

Seventh.—He may be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living or a deceased master.

Eighth.—He cannot be a party in any judicial tribunal in any species of action against the master."

III

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND EMANCIPATION

THE events that led to the Revolution and the formation of the Union quickened the public conscience and crystallized the feeling against slavery to such a degree that public men were outspoken against it, societies were organized, and the work of the abolition of slavery was begun.

The principle in the Declaration of Independence that "All men are created equal and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," certainly exerted a most powerful influence. The colony of Vermont, claimed in vain at intervals both by New York and New Hampshire, and which was practically independent of the thirteen, adopted a constitution in 1777 abolishing slavery. In 1780 Massachusetts framed a constitution containing a provision construed by the courts as destroying human bondage, while Pennsylvania in the same year provided for gradual emancipation, though the last slave in this commonwealth did not die until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century. New Hampshire followed the example of Massachusetts in 1783. Rhode Island and Connecticut passed gradual abolition laws in 1784. Thus five of the original thirteen colonies prior to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 placed themselves before the world as free States, to which must be added New York and New Jersey, the former in 1799, the latter in the following year, copying their example.

From the general sentiment of the time as voiced by such men as Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, nothing seemed more

certain than that slavery would in a very few years be doomed to extinction. In the Continental Congress March 1, 1784, Jefferson proposed a draft ordinance for the government of the Territory of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi ceded already or to be ceded by individual States, to the United States, "that after the year 1800 there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise than in punishment of crime."

Owing to opposition of the planting interests, led by South Carolina and Georgia this proviso was lost. But three years later when Jefferson was in Paris on a foreign mission, the ordinance of 1787, by the provisions of which slavery was to be prohibited in the territory north of the Ohio, which now includes the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, was adopted by the unanimous vote of the Continental Congress of the thirteen colonies.[1]

[1] Critical Period—Fiske.

IV

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS

Slave Insurrections were a constant menace to the safety and security of slavery and the laws provided against the personal liberty of the slave; his freedom of locomotion; his right to assemble in large numbers except under the supervision of the master class; his right to purchase fire arms or weapons of deadly warfare—all were enacted and enforced to prevent the possibility and the effectiveness of outbreaks for freedom.

Notwithstanding these repressive measures upon the slave, the tendency of which was to make their bondage more complete and secure, there were about twenty-five recorded instances of Negro Insurrections previous to the Revolution. Among these there was one in 1687 in the Northern Neck of Virginia. As early as 1710 one was suppressed in Virginia. In 1740 one was discovered in South Carolina and what was known as the New York Slave Plot was discovered in 1741.

In 1800 the insurrection of General Gabriel was only timely prevented. It was on discovery found that fully 1,000 slaves were involved and those concerned were scattered through a large section of territory.

In 1822 the Denmark Vesey plot in South Carolina was only prevented from disastrous effects by the confession of a slave. So carefully had it been planned, so trustworthy, so faithful to the purpose of its promoters, that it was with extreme difficulty that the authorities could secure enough evidence to identify and to bring to trial those accused. Denmark Vesey whose name is given to this outbreak, was a most remarkable character. He

was a great organizer, a man of rare intelligence, with wonderful knowledge of men and a born leader. He was also one of the last men to be suspected by the whites as bent on such a scheme. He exercised a dread over the blacks that facilitated the development of his plans and the confidence reposed in him by the whites never caused him to be distrusted.

Peter Poyas, his chief lieutenant, was scarcely second to Denmark in ability to select, drill and command. One hundred and thirty-one arrests were made, as a result of which 67 were convicted, of whom 35 were executed and 37 banished beyond the limits of the United States.

Notwithstanding, the effect of the outbreak was wide reaching. In "Right on the Scaffold or the Martyrs of 1822," No. 7, Negro American Academy papers, Mr. Archibald H. Grimke has given a most thrilling description of the principal participants, the events leading up and flowing from this tragic plot of slave life in South Carolina.

The prompt punishment of the participants in the Denmark Vesey Outbreak did not stamp out the spirit of resentment on the part of the most restless spirits among the slaves; for nine years afterwards, came the Nat Turner Insurrection in Southhampton County, Virginia.

Nat Turner was born October 2, 1800, the slave of Benjamin Turner. The father who escaped from slavery finally migrated to Liberia. In his early years Nat had a presentiment that largely influenced his after life. His mind was restless, active, inquisitive, observant. He learned to read and write without apparent difficulty. He was deeply religious, he could manufacture paper, gunpowder, pottery and other articles in common use, and his skill in planning was universally admitted. As late as the beginning of the Civil War, there were traditions of his keen devices and ready wit. He was below the ordinary stature, compact in physique, with strongly marked physical features. Contrary to general impression he was not a

preacher. His personality was not that of a criminal but of an austere, reserved and contemplative.

In 1825 he said he discovered drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven, that he found on leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters and numbers with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood and representing the figures he had previously seen in the heavens.

July 4, 1831, was the time on which he had planned to begin his work, but he hesitated until the reappearance of signs in the heavens determined him to begin Sunday, August 21, at which time he met six men. Hark, Henry, Sam, Nelson, Will and Jack and long after midnight, after a long feast in the woods, they began the work. Armed with a hatchet Nat entered his master's chamber and aimed the first blow of death but the weapon glanced harmless from the head of the would-be victim, who then received the first fatal blow from Will, a member of the party, who without Nat's suggestion got into the plot. Five whites perished here. Four guns, several old muskets, a few rounds of ammunition, were seized. The party were drilled and maneuvered at the barn after which they marched from plantation to plantation until the attacking force numbered sixty, all armed with guns, axes, swords and clubs, and mounted. Late Monday afternoon they had reached a point about three miles distant from Jerusalem, the County Seat, now known as Courtland. Against Nat's judgment they halted and awaited reënforcements. This delay proved the turning point in his attack. Nat started to the mansion house in search of his stragglers and on his return to the road, he found that a party of white men from the countryside, who had pursued the bloody path of the insurrectionists, had dispersed the guard of eight men left at the roadside. The white men numbered eighteen under the command of a Capt. Alex P. Peete.

Although these men were directed to reserve their fire until within thirty paces, one of their number fired on Nat's crowd

at about one hundred yards and half of them beat a precipitate retreat, when Nat ordered them to fire and rush on them. The remaining white men stood their ground until Nat was within fifty yards when they too retreated. Nat pursued, wounded and overtook some of them and would have slaughtered the entire party but for the timely arrival of a company of whites in another direction from Jerusalem. With a party of twenty Nat baffled capture and endeavored to cross the Nottoway river, attack the County Seat from the rear, and procure additional arms and ammunition. This was a vain procedure. A midnight attack at his rendezvous at which point he had recruited his strength, left him with less than a score of followers. The sudden firing of a gun by Hark was the signal for an ambush which caused the retreat and flight of his force. Dismayed but not disappointed, Nat endeavored once more to rally his men, but the discovery of white men reconnoitering near his rendezvous convinced him that he had been betrayed and further aggressive steps were useless.

For nearly six weeks the entire county sought his capture which was finally accomplished only by accident. His trial, conviction and punishment followed. Fifty-five white men were killed but not a single Negro was slain during the attack. Seventeen of the insurrectionists were convicted and executed, seven convicted and transported, ten acquitted, seven discharged and four sent on for further hearing. Four of those convicted and transported were boys. Only four free men were brought to trial, of whom one was discharged and three acquitted. Not only Virginia, but the whole country was stirred. Rumors of similar outbreaks flew thick and fast. Distant cities were put under military defense, arrests of suspects were made months after. Governor Hayne issued a proclamation in South Carolina; Macon, Georgia, was aroused at midnight by rumors of an impending onslaught. Slaves were arrested by the wholesale, were tied to trees while militia captains took delight in hacking

at them with swords. In brief, the reprisals were bloody, terrific, in a few cases most pathetic; white sympathizers suffered in the revenge.

The next session of the Virginia Legislature occasioned a prolonged debate on the evils of slavery, which Henry Wilson "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," pronounced to be the ablest, most eloquent and brilliant in the entire history of state legislation. In this discussion all the arguments for and against abolition were given as strongly and as eloquently as anti-slavery orator or agitator ever enunciated or formulated, but more rigorous laws against the free Negro and the slave were enacted and enforced, "not only in Virginia but North Carolina, South Carolina and other States."

V

SOME EARLY STRIVINGS

It was near the close of the eighteenth century before the first signs of social life appeared in the American Negro.[1] The Free African Society of Philadelphia was formed April 12, 1787. Among the organizers was Richard Allen, who became the organizer and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church in 1816, and president of the first National Convention of colored men held in Philadelphia in 1830. Absalom Jones (founder and first priest of St. Thomas Episcopal Church), was another. The first African Lodge of Free Masons, with Prince Hall as its worshipful master, was opened in Boston, its warrant bearing date September 29, 1784. In Williamsburg, Va., the first African Baptist Church was organized in 1776, and as a result of the labors of George Liele, a Negro evangelist, African churches were formed both in Augusta, and Savannah, Georgia, in the same decade.[2]

These were exceptional incidents in the life of a people, numbering more than a half million who had hitherto no social bond, nothing in common but that they were the victims of oppression and injustice.

1 Johnston's High School History of the U. S. Thorpe—History of the American People, p. 88. The Negro Church—Atlanta Univ. Publications. The Negro Mason in Equity—S. W. Clark.

2 All race organizations were then styled African.

VI

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

After the Revolutionary War, when the colonists tried to form a Constitution they found themselves hopelessly divided over the question of one or two houses in the legislature and the basis of representation. The presence of the Negro in large numbers in the South where slavery was steadily on the increase occasioned much of the trouble. Two of the three great compromises which made the Constitution a possibility bore directly on this unequal distribution of free and slave, white and black population. By the terms of the second compromise five slaves in the basis of popular representation were to be counted as equal to three white men. The third compromise permitted the foreign slave trade to continue for twenty years.

The moral effect of the abolition of the African slave trade by the United States, which was determined by an act of March 2, 1807, to go into effect the first day of the following year, is borne out by the action of several European countries. Great Britain, on March 25, same year, followed the example of the United States. Sweden was the next, in 1813; the Dutch and France did the like in 1814, the latter as the result of a treaty with Great Britain, though it was not in full operation until June 1, 1819. Spain lingered until the next year, and Portugal, which had legislated for absolute abolition in January, 1815, had the time for the cessation of the trade extended to January 21, 1823, and finally to February, 1830. To Denmark, however, must be given the honor of having pioneered in the movement for the abolition of the slave trade, a royal order having been issued May 16, 1792, to be enforced throughout her dominion at the end of ten years.

VII

FROM 1816 TO 1870

THE year 1816 witnessed the beginning of two divergent movements with respect to the black population of the United States. The first was the organization by the whites of the American Colonization Society, the adoption of its constitution, December 31, and the election of its officers, January 1, 1817. Henry Clay presided at the first meeting, which was held at the Capitol, December 21, 1816. At the adjourned meeting held in the hall of the House of Representatives the constitution was adopted with fifty men as charter members. Bushrod Washington, a nephew of George Washington and one of the justices of the Supreme Court, was elected first president. This movement, paradoxical as it may be, was held to be both in the interest of slavery and freedom—of slavery, because by the contemplated removal of the free people of color from the country it would destroy the unrest and dissatisfaction of the slave with his servile condition; in the interest of freedom, because the free Negro would be transported to a land in which he would have free scope for all his activities, energies, and aspirations, unfettered by the prejudice of race and unequal competition.

The other epochal event was the creation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church denomination of colored Methodist societies in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore and the adjacent country. The black worshipers in the first-named city had been ordered up from their knees while in the act of praying, and in other places they were otherwise restricted. To save their self-respect they established churches composed entirely of their own

race, and in this year was the first step towards connectional union.

The movement to remove systematically the free men of the country was the first step to atone for the purchase of the twenty Negroes landed at Jamestown two hundred years before. The twenty had become in 1810, 1,369,864, of whom 183,897, were free. The Nation gave moral support to the colonization movement. Colored men desirous of going to Africa were not subjected to certain disabilities. They could receive educational facilities denied other colored Americans, and they enjoyed more of the freedom of locomotion. Yet during the entire period of the colonization movement from 1820, the time of the first settlement in Africa, the numbers who have gone to Liberia, including 5,722 recaptured Africans, up to the close of the nineteenth century were not more than 22,119, and their descendants in that country did not at the beginning of the twentieth century, amount to more than 25,000.[1] On the other hand, the A. M. E. Church has grown rapidly from the beginning. In 1912 it had a membership of 620,234.[2] The A. M. E. Zion Church, established largely for the same reasons in 1820, had the same year a membership of 547,216,[3] distributed throughout the continental part of the United States.

[1] Liberia Bulletin No. 16.

[2] Dr. H. K. Carroll, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

[3] Ibid.

Third.—The organization of the Territory of New Mexico without any restriction as to slavery.

Fourth.—The prohibition of domestic slave trade in the District of Columbia.

The sentiment of the North was decidedly against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the South, on the other hand did not keep faith with the Compromise of 1820, which by her solid delegation in Congress, aided by a strong contingent from the North she defied by the enactment in 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Here was an irrepressible conflict, which was accentuated by the Dred Scott Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1857, delivered two days after the inauguration of President Buchanan. In Kansas the conflict was bitter and persistent, and in the end Freedom won. Both sides of the struggle between Freedom and Slavery were engaged in a political duel in Illinois, where Lincoln represented the idea of the National power of the country to check the westward extension of slavery, and Stephen Douglas championed the right to make a territory either free or slave at will. In 1859 another insurrection, this time led by John Brown, a white man, with 22 followers, at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, thrilled the country. It had most wide-reaching and permanent results, dooming slavery to extinction, although its leader and his associates paid the penalty of their lives on the scaffold.

John Brown on His Way to the Scaffold. After Hovenden.

IX

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

With the Democratic party divided, 1860 witnessed two rival presidential tickets; as a result of which Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party obtained a decisive victory in the electoral college.

The triumph of the Republicans gave the South the pretext that it was seeking. The civil war followed and resulted in the triumph of the Union and the abolition of slavery. On April 16, 1862, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia by the payment of $993,406.35; and notice having been given, September 22, 1862 of his intention, if those supporting the Richmond government did not return to the Union within one hundred days, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, declaring all slaves in the seceded States and Territories except in sections in the control of the Union armies henceforth and forever free.

The assassination of President Lincoln, April 15, 1865, following so closely upon the Fall of Richmond and the Surrender of Lee at Appomattox, precipitated a long and bitter conflict between Congress and Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor in office. April 9, 1866, a Civil Rights Law was enacted, conferring certain fundamental civil rights upon the emancipated race —the right to sue and be sued, to hold property, and to testify in the courts. The States lately in rebellion passed vagrant acts which virtually reënacted many of the objectionable features of the Slave Code, and Congress decided to protect by legislation and constitutional enactments those freed by the sword. The

Thirteenth Amendment, constitutionally legalizing emancipation, became a part of the Constitution, December 18, 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment, defining citizenship and declaring all Negroes to be citizens of the United States and of the States in which they reside, became incorporated in the Constitution July 18, 1868. The right of franchise was given the Negro, first in the States that were engaged in rebellion by the Reconstruction Act organizing the seceded States, which passed March 2, 1867, and through the Fifteenth Amendment, preventing any denial of the right of suffrage on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This amendment was ratified March 30, 1870, and applied to the entire country. With its embodiment in the fundamental law and the restoration of all the States lately in rebellion to their constitutional rights and representation within the Union, the work of reconstruction was supposed to be complete.

Reading Emancipation Proclamation by Union Soldier in a Slave Cabin.

X

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

One of the laws most rigidly enforced south of Mason and Dixon's Line was that prohibiting the teaching of colored people to read and write. There was no greater, no more ardent desire on their part than to obtain an education. Every artifice to evade this law and to obtain by stealth an education was employed. During the Civil War philanthropic associations followed victorious armies, and schools were opened in the centers of Negro population all over the South Old and young flocked to these, all eager to get an education. While not under the operation of positive law, they enjoyed, nevertheless, a kind of national governmental supervision—that of the Freedmen's Bureau.[1] The teachers as a rule were Northern young men and women, especially the latter, who were fired with enthusiasm for the work and exhibited the self-denying consecration of the foreign missionary. The progress of the pupils in these schools was phenomenal. The establishment of normal schools and academies at which the brightest of the colored youth could be prepared for the work of teachers rapidly followed. Almost about the same time Howard University at Washington, Atlanta University in Georgia, Fisk University at Nashville, Straight University in New Orleans, Shaw University at Raleigh, Colver Institute in Richmond, Va., Wayland Seminary in Washington—these last two now merged in the Union University at Richmond, Va., and Hampton Institute, were established—all the outgrowth of missionary effort or philanthropy. In faculty and other equip-

[1] See Appendix.

ment these schools matched the secondary institutions at the South for the whites. Thus was laid the foundation for the schoolteachers, the doctors, lawyers and ministers of the gospel needed in the popular instruction, professional work, the religious and secular leadership of the Negro. From the private philanthropy that maintained these schools were evolved the Peabody, Slater and Hand Funds, and in later years the General and the Southern Educational Board and the Jeanes Educational Fund.

The common schools of the South came into being with the reconstruction of the new State governments, and may be said to have had a fair beginning with the year 1871. Four of the State Superintendents of Instruction in the period of Reconstruction were colored men, Rev. now Bishop J. W. Hood in North Carolina, Thomas W. Cardozo in Mississippi, William G. Brown in Louisiana, and Rev. Jonathan G. Gibbs of Florida. It may be claimed without fear of successful contradiction that the establishment of the common school in the South is attributable to the political forces which the Negro's vote placed in power.

XI

THE EARLY CONVENTION MOVEMENT

With the period immediately following the Second War with Great Britain, begins a series of events which indicate a purpose of the nation to make the condition of the free man of color an inferior status socially and politically. That this was resisted at every step, revealed more clearly the national aim and purpose

In 1820 the passage of the Missouri Compromise permitted the westward extension of slavery and as far north as 36° 30′.

Local legislation, harmonizing with this national action against extending the domain of freedom and making the country undesirable for the colored freeman, followed. Two years after the enactment of the compromise, "the martyrs of 1822" went bravely and heroically to their fate in South Carolina. In 1827, the Empire State completed its work of emancipation of the slave, begun 28 years before, and saw the birth of *Freedom's Journal,* the first Negro newspaper within the limits of the United States, edited by John B. Russwurm [1] and Samuel E. Cornish. In 1831, Virginia was convulsed and the entire Southland shocked by the Insurrection of Nat Turner. In the State of Ohio along the Kentucky border, the feeling against the free Negro had become acute. Mobs occurred, blood was shed and the people were compelled to look to some spot where they could abide in peace.

In these stirring times the Convention Movement came into

[1] First college-bred Negro, Bowdoin College, one year after Longfellow and Hawthorne.

existence. The forces which it evoked were conserved and correlated until the dynamics of Civil Revolution had wrought desolation and destruction far and wide, sweeping away forever what had been a basis of the social and political strength of the Nation.

A glance at the list of the officers of this pioneer deliberative convention of colored people of which we have as yet any data, shows that the men who led in this meeting were among the foremost colored citizens whose names have come down to us from that distant past.[2] James Forten was President, and Russell Parrott, the assistant to Absalom Jones at St. Thomas, P. E. Church, was the Secretary. Prominent also in this anti-colonization convention, were Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, Robert Douglass, and John Gloucester—the first settled pastor of a colored Presbyterian Church.

This Convention of 1830 was the first conscious step toward concerted action and was in no sense local in its conception, its constituency or its purpose.

The prime mover was Hezekiah Grice, a native of Baltimore. In his early life, he had met Benjamin Lundy, and in 1828-9, William Lloyd Garrison, editors and publishers of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* published at that time in Baltimore. In the spring of 1830 he wrote a circular letter to prominent colored men in the free States requesting their views on the feasibility and imperative necessity of holding a convention of the free colored men of the country, at some point north of Mason and Dixon's Line, for the exchange of views on the question of emigration or the adoption of a policy that would make living in the United States more endurable. For several months there was no response whatever to this circular. In August, however, he received an urgent request for him to come at once

[2] The first public demonstration of hostility to the colonization scheme was made January 24, 1817, by free colored inhabitants of Richmond, Va. Garrison's "Thoughts on African Colonization."

to Philadelphia. On his arrival there he found a meeting in session, discussing conflicting reports relative to the openings for colored people as emigrants to Canada. Bishop Richard Allen, at whose instance he was in Philadelphia, subsequently showed him a printed circular signed by Peter Williams, the rector of St. Philip's Church, New York, Peter Vogelsang and Thomas L. Jennings of the same place, approving the plan of a convention. This approval decided the Philadelphians to take definite action, and they immediately "issued a call for a Convention of the colored men of the United States to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 15th of September, 1830."

When the time came the Convention assembled in Bethel Church, the historic building in which was laid the foundation of the A. M. E. denomination. The Convention was organized by the election of Bishop Allen as President, Dr. Belfast Burton of Philadelphia and Austin Steward of Rochester, N. Y., as Vice Presidents, Junius C. Morell, Secretary, and Robert Cowley, Maryland, Assistant Secretary.

Seven States were represented by duly accredited delegates as follows:[3]

Pennsylvania—Richard Allen, Belfast Burton, Cyrus Black, Junius C. Morell, Benjamin Paschall, James Cornish, William Whipper, Peter Gardiner, John Allen, James Newman, Charles H. Leveck, Frederick A. Hinton; New York—Austin Steward, Joseph Adams, George L. Brown; Connecticut—Scipio Augustus; Rhode Island—George C. Willis, Alfred Niger; Maryland—James Deaver, Hezekiah Grice, Aaron Willson, Robert Cowley; Delaware—Abraham D. Shadd; Virginia—Arthur M. Waring, William Duncan, James West, Jr.

Besides there were these honorary members:

Pennsylvania—Robert Brown, William Rogers, John Bowers, Richard Howell, Daniel Peterson, Charles Shorts; New York—Leven Williams; Maryland—James P. Walker, Rev. Samuel

[3] *Anglo-African Magazine*, 1859.

Todd, John Arnold; Ohio—John Robinson; New Jersey—Sampson Peters; Delaware—Rev. Anthony Campbell and Dan Carolus Hall.

They may well be called the first "forty immortals" in our Valhalla.

The question of emigration to Canada West, after an exhaustive discussion which continued during the two days of the convention's sessions, was recommended as a measure of relief against the persecution from which the colored American suffered in many places in the North. Strong resolutions against the American Colonization Society were adopted. The formation of a parent society with auxiliaries in the different localities represented in the convention, for the purpose of raising money to defray the object of purchasing a colony in the province of Upper Canada, and ascertaining more definite information, having been effected, the convention adjourned to reassemble on the first Monday in June, 1831, during which time the order of the convention respecting the organization of the auxiliary societies had been carried into operation.

At the assembling of the convention in 1831, which was fully reported in *The Liberator,* the officers elected were, John Bowers, Philadelphia, President, Abraham D. Shadd and William Duncan, Vice Presidents, William Whipper, Secretary, Thomas L. Jennings, Assistant Secretary.

The roll of delegates reveals the presence of many of the pioneers. Hezekiah Grice did not attend—in fact he was never subsequently a delegate, for two years later he emigrated to Haiti, where he became a foremost contractor. Richard Allen had died, after having completed a most remarkable career. Rev. James W. C. Pennington, who for forty years afterward bore a conspicuous place as a clergyman of sound scholarship, was a new figure and thenceforth an active participant in the movement.

This convention aroused no little interest among the foremost

friends of the Negro and was visited and addressed by such men as Rev. S. S. Jocelyn of New Haven, Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison. In the "Life of Arthur Tappan," by his brother Lewis Tappan, we find the following:

"A convention of people of color was held in Philadelphia in 1831 of delegates from several States to consult upon the common interest. It was numerously attended and the proceedings were conducted with much ability. A resolution was adopted that it was expedient to establish a collegiate school on the manual labor system. . . . A committee appointed for the purpose made an appeal to the benevolent. . . . New Haven was suggested as a suitable place for its location . . . Arthur Tappan purchased several acres of land in the southerly part of the city and made arrangements for the erection of a suitable building and furnished it with needful supplies in a way to do honor to the city and country . . . The people of New Haven became violently agitated in opposition to the plan. The city was filled with confusion. They seemed to fear that the city would be overrun with Negroes from all parts of the world . . . A public meeting called by the Mayor September 8, 1831, in spite of a manly protest by Roger S. Baldwin, subsequently Governor of the State and U. S. Senator from Connecticut, adopted the following:

"Resolved, by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and freemen of the city of New Haven, in city meeting assembled, that we will resist the establishment of the proposed college in this place by every lawful means."

The attempt at the founding of a college in Connecticut was abandoned. The Prudence Crandall incident disgraced the name of Connecticut at the same period.

What was a kind of National Executive Committee, and known as the Convention Board, issued the calls for the conventions from time to time.

When the next convention was held in 1832, there were eight States represented with an attendance of thirty delegates, as follows: Maryland had 3; Delaware, 5; New Jersey, 3; Pennsyl-

vania, 9; New York, 5; Connecticut, 2; Rhode Island, 1; Massachusetts, 2.

Beginning June 4th, it continued in session until the 15th. The question exciting the greatest interest was one which proposed the purchase of other lands for settlement in Canada; for 800 acres of land had already been secured, two thousand individuals had left the soil of their birth, crossed the line and laid the foundation for a structure which promised an asylum for the colored population of the United States. They had already erected two hundred log houses and 500 acres of land had been brought under cultivation. But hostility to the settlement of the Negro in that section had been manifested by Canadians, many of whom would sell no land to the Negro. This may explain the hesitation of the convention and the appointment of an agent whose duty it was to make further investigation and report to a subsequent convention.

Opposition to the colonization movement was emphasized by a strong protest against any appropriation by Congress in behalf of the American Colonization Society. Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was also urged at the same convention. This was one year before the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

There were fifty-eight delegates present when the convention assembled June 3, 1833. The States represented were Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. Abraham D. Shadd, then of Washington, D. C., was elected President.

The usual resolutions and addresses to the people were framed and adopted. In addition to these, the law of Connecticut, but recently passed, prohibiting the establishment of literary institutions in that State for the instruction of persons of color of other States was specifically referred to, as well as a resolution giving the approval of the mission of William Lloyd Garrison to

Europe to obtain funds for the establishment of a Manual Training School.

The emigration question was again thoroughly discussed. A committee was appointed to look into the matter of the encouragement of settlement in Upper Canada and all plans for colonization anywhere were rejected.

A general convention fund was provided for, also a schedule showing the population, churches, day schools, Sunday Schools, pupils, temperance societies, benevolent societies, mechanics and store-keepers. A most significant action was one recommending the establishment in different parts of the country of FREE LABOR STORES at which no produce from the result of slave labor would be exposed for sale.

The next year, 1834, the convention met in New York, June 8th, with Henry Sipkins as President. There were seven States represented and about 40 delegates present. The usual resolutions were adopted, one commending Prudence Crandall * to the patronage and affection of the people at large; another urging the people to assemble on the fourth of each July for the purpose of prayer and the delivery of addresses pertaining to the condition and welfare of the colored people. The foundation of societies on the principle of moral reform and total abstinence from intoxicating liquors was advocated. Moreover, every person of color was urged to discountenance all boarding houses where gambling was permitted.

At the same convention the Phoenix Societies came up for special consideration and were heartily commended. These planned an organization of the colored people in their municipal subdivisions with the special object of the promotion of their improvement in morals, literature and the mechanic arts. Lewis Tappan refers to them in the biography previously referred to. The "Mental Feast" which was a social feature, survived thirty years later in some of the interior towns of Pennsylvania and the

* See Appendix.

West. General Superintendent Christopher Rush of the A. M. E. Zion, was the president of these societies. Rev. Theodore S. Wright, the predecessor of Rev. Henry Highland Garnet at the Shiloh Presbyterian Church, New York, and who enjoys the unique reputation of claiming Princeton Seminary as his Alma Mater, was a vice president. Among its directors were Boston Crummell, the father of Alexander Crummell, Rev. William Paul Quinn, subsequently a bishop of the A. M. E. Church, and Rev. Peter Williams. These names suggest that the Phoenix Society movement was a somewhat widespread institution. Unfortunately, there was lost during the excitement of the New York Draft Riots of 1863, nearly all the documentary data for an interesting sidelight on the Convention Movement, through the study of these societies.

With 1835, the Convention returned to Philadelphia; June 1-5 was the time of its sessions. There were forty-four delegates enrolled, with Reuben Ruby of Maine, as president, John F. Cook of the District of Columbia, was Secretary.

Speaking of its proceedings "*The Liberator*" says:

"Its pages offered abundant testimony of the ability of this body to set before the Nation a detail of the wrongs and grievances to which they are by custom and law subjected, and they also exhibit a praiseworthy spirit of manly and noble resolution to contend by moral force alone until their rights so long withheld shall be restored."

Among other specially notable things, Robert Purvis and Frederick A. Hinton were appointed a committee to correspond with dissatisfied emigrants to Liberia and to take such action as would best promote the sentiment of the colored people respecting the work of the Colonization Society; the students of Lane Seminary at Cincinnati were thanked for their zeal in the cause of abolition. Temperance reform was advocated in a stirring address to the people; and the free people of color were recommended to petition Congress and their respective state legislatures to be ad-

mitted to the rights and privileges of American citizenship, and to be protected in the enjoyment of the same.

William Whipper advocated that the word "colored" should be abandoned and the title "African" should be removed from the name of the churches, lodges, societies and other institutions.

In 1836, in the columns of *The Liberator* appear calls for two conventions; the regular annual convention was called to meet in Philadelphia, June 6, by Henry Sipkins of the Convention Board, and the urgent language of the call implies doubt in the interest of the people or the probability of their prompt response to the call. William Whipper issued the call, through the same medium, for the Convention of the American Moral Reform to meet August 2, 1836, also in Philadelphia. Careful perusal of the files of *The Liberator* fails to disclose a comment on the proceedings of either convention. But the personnel of the officers of the American Moral Reform shows the influential men of the Convention Movement at their helm. James Forten, Sr., the Revolutionary patriot, was the President, Reuben Ruby, Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, Rev. Walter Proctor and Jacob C. White, Sr., of Philadelphia, were Vice Presidents, Joseph Cassey was Treasurer, Robert Purvis, Foreign Corresponding Secretary and James Forten, Jr., Recording Secretary.

The address was drawn up by William Watkins of Baltimore, who two decades later was an able colleague of Frederick Douglass in the conduct of *The North Star.*

In 1837, the Convention of the American Moral Reform was again held in Philadelphia, August 19th, in which William Whipper, John P. Burr, Rev. John F. Cook, who delivered an address on Temperance, and James Forten, Jr., were leading spirits.

Sufficient has been stated to show that the convention movement was deeply rooted in the thought of the disfranchised American. The fact that there was a lull does not at all dis-

prove this contention. The conventions were great educators, alike of the Negro and the American whites. They taught the former parliamentary usages and how to conduct deliberative bodies. They brought to light facts pertaining to the Negro's status which tended to establish that he was thrifty and steadily improving as a moral and economic force; while the American whites had in them an object lesson from which they learned much. In his "Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro," Samuel Ringgold Ward [4] says: "A State or a National Convention of black men is held. The talent displayed, the order maintained, the demeanor of the delegates, all impress themselves upon the community. All agree that to keep a people rooted to the soil who are rapidly improving, who have already attained considerable influence and are marshaled by gifted leaders (men who show themselves qualified for legislative and judicial positions), and to doom them to a state of perpetual vassalage is altogether out of the question."

The work of unifying the race along right lines now proceeded with the holding of State Conventions. There was a state Temperance Convention of the colored men of Connecticut, held at Middletown, 1836, followed by a call for a New England Convention at Boston in October. Reference to its proceedings shows a prior convention held at Providence, R. I., in May. At the Boston Convention a ringing appeal was made to the people, for total abstinence from all intoxicants, and almost immediately thereafter, local meetings were held for the purpose of putting in practical operation the principles enunciated. Not only in New England, but in the Middle and Western States, local conventions were held during this and the next decade.

The following extracts from a letter dated Dec. 21, 1901 from the veteran educator, Peter H. Clark, of Cincinnati and St. Louis, Missouri, shed a flood of light upon this early movement:

[4] Pronounced by Daniel Webster "the ablest thinker on his legs before the American public."

My Dear Sir:—

The people of Ohio held conventions annually for more than thirty years. Usually they printed their proceedings in pamphlets.

. . . . . .

A peculiarity of the Ohio conventions was that they were meant to improve the condition of the colored people of that State. The conventions of those residing in the more eastern States were simply anti-slavery conventions, and their memorials and protests were aimed at slavery. The first conventions of the men of Ohio were self-helpful. By their own sacrifices and with the help of friends, they purchased lots and erected school houses in a number of towns, or they organized schools and located them in churches.

Active in this work were the Yancy's, Charles and Walter, Gideon and Charles Langston (brothers of John M.), George Carey, Dennis Hill, and chief among them, David Jenkins. Walter Yancy was the agent of these men, traveling and organizing societies and schools, collecting funds, etc.

As a result of this self-helping movement, a number of farming communities were established, some of which accumulated large areas of land, and in Cincinnati, The Iron Chest Company accumulated funds and in 1840 erected a block of buildings which still stands.

Later, the action of the Convention was directed against the Black Laws of Ohio. These were repealed in 1849, and colored children were permitted to share in the benefits of the school funds, though in separate schools. The same legislature elected Salmon P. Chase to the United States Senate. The movement thus detailed was the result of a bargain between the Democrats of Ohio and the Free Soilers.

Afterwards the force of these conventions was directed against discriminations against colored people which still existed on the statute books. Sometimes this force took the shape of petitions, memorials, protests, and after the organization of the Ohio Equal Rights League, it took the shape of legal proceedings, etc.

One of the most memorable of these conventions was held in 1852, when John M. Langston delivered the best speech of his life, defending the thesis, "there is a mutual repellency between the white and black races of the world."

The materials for the speech were collected by Charles Langston,

but John made the speech. Time has vindicated the position taken by Mr. Langston in that memorable address. It was the beginning of the Emigration Movement in which Dr. Martin R. Delaney afterwards became prominent.

Effective national conventions have not been numerous in the past fifty years.

One of the most notable met at Rochester in 1853. Frederick Douglass presided and I had the honor of being the secretary.

It was reported that Mrs. Stowe desired to give a portion of her earnings from "Uncle Tom" for the founding of a school for the benefit of the Afro-American, and this convention was called to formulate an advisory plan.

The plan when formulated, was practically what Mr. Washington realized many years afterwards at Tuskegee. . . .

The Rochester movement came to naught, but its influence upon the colored people of the country was wide spread, chiefly because of the character of the men who composed it.

Its proceedings were published in the "North Star," and so far as I know, nowhere else. The files of that paper were destroyed with Mr. Douglass' Rochester house, and, unless in the Congressional Library, no copy now exists.

The convention at Syracuse, 1864, was another note-worthy assemblage. It was the formulation of a plan of organization known as the National Equal Rights League. The rivalry between Mr. Douglass and Mr. Langston prevented the wide usefulness of which the organization was capable.

Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois organized auxiliary State leagues, and in each State much good was done. Mr. Langston, president elect of the National Organization, never called it together. . . .

It will take time and thought for the compilation of such a list. The men who officiated in the conventions of which I have written, were mostly small men, great only in their zeal for the welfare of their people.

Within these ten years from 1837 to 1847, a new figure appears on the scene, a man, though not born free like Paul, yet like the chief captain, obtained it at a great price. The

career of Frederick Douglass was but preliminary prior to his return from England, and his settlement at Rochester, N. Y., as editor of *The North Star*. By a most remarkable coincidence, the very first article in the first number of *The North Star* published January, 1848, is an extended notice of the National Colored Convention held at the Liberty Street Church, Troy, New York, October 9, 1847. Nathan Johnson was president.

There were 67 delegates. From New York, 44; Massachusetts, 15; Connecticut, 2; Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Vermont, Kentucky and Michigan, 1 each.

The presence of one delegate, Benjamin Weeden, from a large constituency, Northampton, Mass., whose credentials stated the fact that a large number of white citizens sympathizing with the objects of the call had formally expressed their endorsement of the movement, was a signal for hearty applause.

A most spirited discussion arose on the report of the Committee of Education as to the expediency of the establishment of a college for colored young men, which was discussed pro and con by arguments that can not be surpassed even after a lapse of more than half a century. The report gives unstinted praise to the chairman [5] of the committee for his scholarly style, his choice diction and his grace of manner.

The next year, September 6, 1848, between sixty and seventy delegates assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, in the National Convention, the sessions alternating between the Court House and the Tabernacle. Frederick Douglass was chosen President, John Jones of Illinois, Allen Jones of Ohio, Thomas Johnson of Michigan and Abner Francis of New York, were Vice Presidents, William Howard Day was the Secretary, with William H. Burnham and Justin Hollin, Assistants. At the head of the business committee stood Martin R. Delaney. The line of policy was not deflected. As in previous conventions, education was encouraged,

[5] Alexander Crummell.

the importance of statistical information emphasized and temperance societies urged.

As showing the representative character of the delegates, the diversity of occupations, employment and the professions followed, the fact was developed that there were printers, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, engineers, dentists, gunsmiths, editors, tailors, merchants, wheelwrights, painters, farmers, physicians, plasterers, masons, college students, clergymen, barbers, hairdressers, laborers, coopers, livery stable keepers, bath-house keepers and grocers among the members of the convention.

But of all the conventions of the period, the largest, that in which the ability of its members was best displayed in the broad and statesmanlike treatment of the questions discussed and the practical action which vindicated their right to recognition as enfranchised citizens, and the one to which the attention of the American people was attracted as never before, was the one held in the city of Rochester, N. Y. With greater emphasis than at prior meetings, this convention set the seal of its opposition against any hope for permanent relief to the conditions under which the colored freeman labored by any comprehensive scheme of emigration. Because of this, it directed its energies to affirmative, constructive action.

In the enunciation of a philosophy able, far-sighted and statesmanlike, contained in the address to the American people, we behold the wisdom of a master mind—one then at the prime of his intellectual and physical powers, Frederick Douglass, the chairman of the Business Committee.

Among the important things done by the convention might be enumerated. It says:

"We can not announce the discovery of any new principle adopted to ameliorate the condition of mankind. The great truths of moral and political science upon which we rely, and which press upon your consideration, have been evolved and enunciated by you. We point to your principles, your wisdom and your great example as the full

justification of our course this day. That all men are created equal; that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the right of all; that taxation and representation should go together; that the Constitution of the United States was formed to establish justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to all the people of the country; that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God—are American principles and maxims, and together they form and constitute the constructive elements of the American government."

1. The plan for an industrial college on the manual labor plan, was approved, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was about to make a visit to England at the instance of friends in that country, was authorized to receive funds in the name of the colored people of the country for that purpose. The successful establishment and conduct of such an institution of learning, would train youth to be self-reliant and skilled workmen, fitted to hold their own in the struggle of life on the conditions prevailing here.

2. A registry of colored mechanics, artisans and business men throughout the Union, was provided for, also, of all the persons willing to employ colored men in business, to teach colored boys mechanic trades, liberal and scientific professions and farming, also a registry of colored men and youth seeking employment or instruction.

3. A committee on publication "to collect all facts, statistics and statements. All laws and historical records and biographies of the colored people and all books by colored authors." This committee was further authorized "to publish replies to any assaults worthy of note, made upon the character or condition of the colored people." This was in keeping with what had actually been done by the colored people of the State of New York the year previous, after its Governor, Ward Hunt, had substantially recommended the passage of black laws which would have forbidden the settlement of any blacks or mulattoes within its borders and placed further restrictions on those at that time citizens. The charge of unthrift against the Negro was utterly disproven by a comparative statement showing that in those places in which the conditions were the worst, New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg, the Negro had increased 25 per cent. in population in twenty years and 100 per cent. in real estate holdings.

In thirteen counties the amount owned by colored persons was ascertained to be $1,000,000.

Capital in Business.—New York, $755,000; Brooklyn, $79,200; Williamsburg, $4,900. Total $839,100.

Real Estate Exclusive of Incumbrance.—New York, $733,000; Brooklyn, $276,000; Williamsburg, $151,000. Total $1,160,000.

The convention crowned its work by a more comprehensive plan of organization than those of twenty years before.

A national council was provided for to be "composed of two members from each State by elections to be held at a poll at which each colored inhabitant may vote who pays ten cents as a poll tax, and each State shall elect at such election delegates to State conventions twenty in number from each State at large."

The detail of this plan shows that the methods of the Afro-American Council of 1895, is an almost exact copy of the National Council of 1853. The chairman of the committee which formulated this plan was William Howard Day and other members were Charles H. Langston, George B. Vashon, William J. Wilson, William Whipper and Charles B. Ray, all of them men of more than ordinary intelligence, information and ability.

But those who saw only in emigration the solution of the evils with which they were beset, immediately called another convention to consider and decide upon the subject of emigration from the United States. According to the call, no one was to be admitted to the convention who would introduce the subject of emigration to any part of the Eastern Hemisphere, and opponents of emigration were also to be excluded. Among the signers to the call in and from the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Canada and California were: Rev. William Webb, Martin R. Delaney, Pittsburg, Pa., Dr. J. J. Gould Bias and Franklin Turner of Philadelphia, Rev. Augustus R. Green of Allegheny, Pa., James M. Whitfield, New York, William

Lambert of Michigan, Henry Bibb, James Theodore Holly of Canada and Henry M. Collins of California.

Douglass in his paper *The North Star,* characterized the call as uncalled for,—unwise and unfortunate and premature. As far too narrow and illiberal to meet with acceptance among the intelligent. "A convention to consider the subject of emigration when every delegate must declare himself in favor of it beforehand as a condition of taking his seat, is like the handle of a jug, all on one side. We hope no colored man will omit during the coming twelve months an opportunity which may offer to buy a piece of property, a house lot, a farm or anything else in the United States which looks to permanent residence here."

James M. Whitfield of Buffalo, N. Y., the Negro poet of America, and one of the signers of the call, responded to the attacks in the same journal. Douglass made a reply and Whitfield responded again, and so on until several articles on each side were produced by these and other disputants. The articles were collected and published in pamphlet form by Rev. and Bishop James Theodore Holly of Port au Prince, Haiti, making a valuable contribution to literature, for I doubt if there is anywhere throughout the range of controversial literature anything to surpass it.

Bishop Holly gives further information respecting this convention. In a private letter he says:

"The convention was accordingly held. The Rev. William Munroe was President, the Rt. Rev. [William] Paul Quinn, Vice President, Dr. Delaney, Chairman of the Business Committee and I was the Secretary. . . .

"There were three parties in that Emigration Convention, ranged according to the foreign fields they preferred to emigrate to. Dr. Delaney headed the party that desired to go to the Niger Valley in Africa, Whitfield the party which preferred to go to Central America, and Holly the party which preferred to go to Hayti.

"All these parties were recognized and embraced by the Convention. Dr. Delaney was given a commission to go to Africa, in the Niger Valley, Whitfield to go to Central America and Holly to Hayti, to enter into negotiations with the authorities of these various countries for Negro emigrants and to report to future conventions. Holly was the first to execute his mission, going down to Hayti in 1855, when he entered into relations with the Minister of the Interior, the father of the late President Hyppolite, and by him was presented to Emperor Faustin I. The next Emigration Convention was held at Chatham, Canada West, in 1856, when the report on Hayti was made. Dr. Delaney went off on his mission to the Niger Valley, Africa, via England in 1858. There he concluded a treaty signed by himself and eight kings, offering inducements for Negro emigrants to their territories. Whitfield went to California, intending to go later from thence to Central America, but died in San Francisco before he could do so. Meanwhile [James] Redpath went to Hayti as a John Brownist after the Harper's Ferry raid, and reaped the first fruits of Holly's mission by being appointed Haytian Commissioner of Emigration in the United States by the Haytian Government, but with the express injunction that Rev. Holly should be called to coöperate with him. On Redpath's arrival in the United States, he tendered Rev. Holly a Commission from the Haytian Government at $1,000 per annum and traveling expenses to engage emigrants to go to Hayti. The first shipload of emigrants were from Philadelphia in 1861.

"Not more than one-third of the 2,000 emigrants to Hayti received through this movement, permanently abided there. They proved to be neither intellectually, industrially, nor financially prepared to undertake to wring from the soil the riches that it is ready to yield up to such as shall be thus prepared; nor are the government and influential individuals sufficiently instructed in social, industrial and financial problems which now govern the world, to turn to profitable use willing workers among the laboring class.

"The Civil War put a stop to the African Emigration project by Dr. Delaney taking the commission of Major from President Lincoln, and the Central American project died out with Whitfield, leaving the Haytian Emigration as the only remaining practical outcome of the Emigration Convention of 1854."

The Civil War destroyed many landmarks and the National Colored Convention, restricted to the free colored people of the North and the border States, was a thing of the past.

Just after one of the darkest periods of that strife, when the dawn was apparent, there assembled in the city of Syracuse, the last National Colored Convention in which the men who began the movement in 1830, their successors and their sons had the control. The sphere of influence even in that had somewhat increased, for southeastern Virginia, Louisiana and Tennessee had some representation. Slavery was dead; the colonizationists to Canada, the West Indies and Africa had abandoned the field of openly aiming to commit the policy of the race to what was considered expatriation.

Reconstruction, even in 1864, was seen in the South peering above the horizon. The Equal Rights League came forth displacing the National Council of 1854, yet with the same object of the Legal Rights Association organized by Hezekiah Grice in Baltimore in 1830. John Mercer Langston stepped in the arena at the head of the new organization, but under more favorable auspices than was begun in the movement of 1830. A study of its rise, progress and decline belongs to another period of the evolution of the Free Negro.

These four facts appear from a study of this movement:

1. The Convention Movement begun in 1830, demonstrates the ability of the Negro to construct a platform broad enough for a race to stand upon and to outline a policy alike far-sighted and statesmanlike, one that has not been surpassed in the eighty years that have elapsed.

2. The earnestness, the enthusiasm and the efficiency with which the work aimed at was done, the singleness of purpose, the public spirit and the intrepidity manifested, encouraged and inspired such men as Benjamin Lundy, William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, S. S. Jocelyn, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, William Goodell and Beriah Green to greater efforts and persistence in

behalf of the disfranchised American, accomplishing at last the tremendous work of revolutionizing the public sentiment of the country and making the institution of radical reforms possible.

3. The preparatory training which the convention work gave, fitted its leaders for the broader arena of abolitionism. And it can not be regarded as a mere coincidence that the only colored men who were among the organizers of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, Robert Purvis and James G. Barbadoes, were both promoters and leaders in the Convention Movement.

4. The importance of industrial education in the growth and development of the Negro-American is no new doctrine in the creed of the representative colored people of the country. Before Hampton and Tuskegee reared their walls—aye, before Booker T. Washington was born, Frederick Douglass and the Colored Convention of 1853 had commissioned Mrs. Stowe to obtain funds to establish an Agriculture and Industrial College. Long before Frederick Douglass had left Maryland by the Under Ground Railroad, but for the opposition of the white people of Connecticut, and within the echo of Yale College, would have stood the first institution dedicated to our enlightenment and social regeneration.

COLORED MEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

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XII

RECONSTRUCTION FAILS

From 1865 to 1870 the Equal Rights League had a respectable existence. The chief value of this body was that it brought together colored men from different sections and created the committee of colored men stationed in Washington during the winter immediately after the war, pending the fight between Congress and Andrew Johnson and the enactment of the Reconstruction Acts. This fight also paved the way for the framing and passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

This law and amendments were followed by the readmission of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. With the elective franchise safeguarded by the presence of the United States Army and the federal statutes there was a revolution in the personnel and political administration of the South. In local and State offices colored men were chosen under the new constitutions. Negro magistrates and police officers in the towns and cities; members of the legislatures by the score; a half a dozen judges, secretaries of state in Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina; and lieutenant governors in Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi. As Members of Congress, there were two Senators, Hiram R. Revels, who filled an unexpired term, and Blanche K. Bruce, the full term of six years from 1875 to 1881, both from Mississippi. Virginia had one colored Member of Congress, John M. Langston, who served one term; North Carolina, John A. Hyman, one term, James E. O'Hara, two terms; Henry P. Cheatham, two terms, and George H. White,

two terms. From South Carolina, Joseph H. Rainey who served in five Congresses, Rev. (later Bishop) Richard H. Cain, in two, Robert C. DeLarge, in one, Alonzo J. Ransier, in one, Thomas E. Miller, one term, Robert Brown Elliott, in two, George W. Murray, in two, Robert Smalls, in five. Georgia had Jefferson Long in part of a term. Florida sent Josiah T. Walls two terms. From Alabama came Jere Haralson, Benjamin S. Turner and James T. Rapier, one term each. Mississippi, John R. Lynch, two terms, and Louisiana, Charles E. Nash, one term.

The withdrawal of the last contingent of United States soldiers from the South during the Administration of President Hayes, and the opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court that the Enforcement Act was unconstitutional, as well as similar opinions as to other Reconstruction Legislation, were followed in 1877 by the collapse of the last reconstructed governments of Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana.

Hope was indulged in, nevertheless, that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the National Constitution in the South would be recognized and enforced by local sentiment. In Virginia, the "readjuster" movement led by William Mahone triumphed in 1881 and gave a fair interpretation to the U. S. Constitution, and a combination between the Populists and the Republicans in North Carolina obtained control of the government of this State with a somewhat kindred result. In Alabama a union between the same elements gave promise of the same results. But all these successes were temporary. Beginning with Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana have revised their constitutions so ingeniously that while not violating the letter of the Fifteenth Amendment they have placed the power of admitting to the elective franchise entirely in the hands of local officers. These officers having full discretion have uniformly admitted all white men but disfranchised nearly all colored men, re-

gardless of whether they do or do not conform to the State law. Several attempts have been made to have the U. S. Supreme Court rule on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of these revised constitutions. But thus far these attempts have been in vain.

The elective franchise is now quite as much in control of the State as before the Civil War. One of the problems of the twentieth century is either the complete nullification of the war amendments or their enforcement in letter and spirit.

XIII

THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER

1652–1781

As early as 1652 the Negro trained in the Virginia Militia and was found in the French and Indian War. Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, was one of the first to fall March 5, 1770, in the Boston Massacre, in which the first blood of the Revolution was shed. From the very earliest days of the Revolution the free Negro enlisted as a soldier in common with other men. As such he was found in the service of nearly all the colonies.[1] Their presence created objection and led to a council of war, held October, 1775, composed of three major generals and six brigadiers, presided over by General George Washington, in which any further Negro enlistments were unanimously condemned. Ten days later this action was approved by a conference participated in by Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, Washington, and the deputy governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The British took advantage of this policy of the Revolutionists, and Lord Dunmore, in a proclamation dated November 7, 1775, offered freedom and equal pay to all slaves who would join their army. Before the year closed, in fact on December 30, 1775, Washington issued orders authorizing the enlistment of free Negroes as soldiers, and as such they continued until the close of the war.

The connection of the Negro soldier in the Continental Army was not without incident. Some achieved honorable mention

[1] Arnold's History State of R. I, p. 428.

Battle of Bunker Hill.

and distinction. Salem Poor was the subject of a memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts for his soldierly bearing and bravery. To Peter Salem belongs the distinction of killing Major Pitcairn at Bunker Hill, and Jordan Freeman killed Major Montgomery at the storming of Fort Griswold. At the battle of Rhode Island, August 29, 1778, a battalion of 400 Negroes withstood three separate charges from 1,500 Hessians under Count Donop. In his description of this battle Arnold says: "It was in repelling the furious onset, that the newly raised black regiment under Colonel Green, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor. Posted behind a thicket in the valley, three times they drove back the Hessians who charged repeatedly down the hill to dislodge them; and so determined were the enemy in these successive charges, that the day after the battle the Hessian Colonel who had led the attack, applied to exchange his command and go to New York, because he dared not lead his regiment again to battle lest his men should shoot him for having caused them so much loss."

1812–1814

In the War of 1812 the Negro was one-sixth of the naval forces of the young republic. Captain Oliver H. Perry, subsequently Commodore, in the early part of the struggle complained because of the large number of Negro recruits sent him, but later he applauded them for their bravery and efficiency.

A popular gathering was held in New York to honor Commodore Decatur at which Hull, Jones and Decatur were present. Shortly after dinner was given, the crew, of which one-third was colored, mulattoes and full blacks, walked side by side with the white soldiers in the parade. Commodore Decatur reviewed them. Some gentlemen seeing the Negro element expressed their surprise to the Commodore and inquired if such men were good for anything in a fight. The Commodore re-

plied: "They are as brave men as ever fired a gun. There are no stouter hearts in the service."[2] Incidents of the valor of the colored sailors in that struggle are abundant. John Johnson, struck by a twenty-four-pounder in the hip, which took away the lower part of his body, exclaimed while in this condition, "Fire away, my boys; no haul a color down." Another, John Davis, just as seriously wounded, begged to be thrown overboard because he said he was in the way of others.

In the east Senate stairway of the Capitol at Washington, and in the rotunda of the Capitol at Columbus, Ohio, Art has rescued from oblivion, by the celebrated picture of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, the contribution of the Negro sailor to a place among the heroes of that engagement.[3]

General Andrew Jackson, President from 1829 to 1837, issued a stirring appeal for aid to the free colored people of Louisiana, September 21, 1814. It runs as follows: "Through a mistaken policy you have been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for National rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist." Two battalions were recruited and did splendid service in the battle of New Orleans. New York enrolled two battalions and Pennsylvania enrolled 2,400 soldiers. Still another was ready for service when peace was declared. So highly pleased was General Jackson with the service of the colored soldiers at the battle of New Orleans that he issued a proclamation containing these words: "To the men of color, soldiers! From the shores of Mobile, I called you to arms. I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much of you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you

[2] Am. Hist. Record, Vol. I, p. 115.

[3] There were one hundred and nine dauntless colored heroes who fought on the Battle of Lake Erie.—Centennial Address of Rev. A. J. Carey.

loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm that impels to great deeds.

"Soldiers, the President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion, and the voice of the representative of the American Nation shall applaud your valor as your General now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lake, but the brave are united, and if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valor, and fame its noblest reward."

In Louisiana a special act of the legislature authorized free Negro troops to be raised during the second war with England, but only those residing in the parish of Natchitoches, who possessed real estate of the value of one hundred and fifty dollars, were eligible. This was the only instance of the enrolment of Negro troops in the half-century (1800–1850). Respecting this regiment, General Jackson wrote, in a letter to President Monroe describing the battle of New Orleans, "I saw General Packenham reel and pitch out of his saddle. I have always believed that he fell from the bullet of a freeman of color, who was a famous rifle shot, and came from the Attakapas region of Louisiana."[4]

Commenting on this belief Thorpe, the historian, says: "If war be man's most glorious occupation, and the death of the enemy's commander-in-chief be desirable, America should erect a monument to this forgotten free Negro who on a property qualification of a hundred and fifty dollars served so faithfully at the battle of New Orleans. Was not this almost as great a service as to command a Negro regiment?"[5]

[4] *Century Magazine*, January, 1897.
[5] Constitutional History of the American People, page 361.

XIV

THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER

1861–1865

In the spring of 1862, the second year of the war which maintained the supremacy of the Union and preserved the flag, General David Hunter raised and equipped a regiment of Negroes in South Carolina. His action, which provoked censure and the offering of a resolution in the House of Representatives demanding the authority for this step, was ultimately approved by President Lincoln and by Congress. Negro soldiers thenceforth were recruited with enthusiasm until the total number was 178,975 in 138 regiments of infantry, six of cavalry, fourteen regiments of heavy artillery and one battery of light artillery.

The record of the bravery of "The Colored Volunteer" in defense of the flag has inspired alike the poet and the orator to some of the most eloquent tributes to the valor, the courage, the daring of the bronze boys in blue. The names of Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson and Fort Pillow are as familiar as Bull Run, Antietam, Shiloh and Gettysburg.

When the Second Louisiana Native Guards, one of the three colored battalions mustered in the Union cause at New Orleans, were leaving for service, Colonel Stafford, their commander, thus concludes an address, turning over the regimental colors: "Color-Guard: Protect, defend, die for, but do not surrender these colors."

Plancianos, the gallant flag-sergeant, replied: "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you in honor, or report to God the reason why."

At Port Hudson, May, 1863, six times the battalion unsuccessfully charged against the foe, Captain Cailloux, so black that he was proud of his color, leading on and refusing to leave the field, though wounded, until killed by a shell. The colors returned, but dyed with the blood of the brave Plancianos, who had reported to God from that bloody field. George H. Boker, the poet, immortalizes the engagement in "The Black Regiment."

At Milliken's Bend, garrisoned by the Ninth and Eleventh Louisiana and the First Mississippi, Negroes, and about one hundred and sixty of the Twenty-third Iowa, white, about eleven hundred fighting men in all, defended themselves against a force of six Confederate regiments from 3 A. M. to 12 noon, when rescued by a Union gunboat.

On July 18, 1863, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, under Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, in their charge against Fort Wagner, won undying fame. It was here that Flag-Sergeant William H. Carney, though wounded, bore the flag back in safety, though falling exhausted from the loss of blood, and exclaiming, "Boys, the Old Flag never touched the ground."

In Virginia in the armies of the James and the Potomac, the prowess of the Negro soldier elicited praise from commanding officers as well as from an admiring world. Major C. A. Fleetwood,[1] with pardonable pride, says: "The true metal of the Negro as a soldier rang out its clearest notes amid the tremendous diapason that rolled back and forth between the embattled hosts!"

It was September 29, 1864, at New Market Heights and Fort Harrison, that only one of a color guard of the 4th U. S. C. T., twelve men, came off the field on his own feet. This gallant flag-sergeant, Hilton, the last to fall, cried out as he went down, "Boys, save the colors," and they were saved. It was at New

[1] Fleetwood was a medal of honor man; for other Colored Honor Men, see Appendix.

Market Heights that owing to the loss of their commissioned officers, six non-commissioned officers, Milton M. Holland, James H. Bronson, Powhattan Beatty, Robert Pinn, Edward Ratcliff and Samuel Gilchrist, led their men so nobly, so bravely, so skillfully, that they were given special medals of honor. It was of this engagement that Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, a Representative in Congress, thus spoke ten years after:[2] "There in a space not wider than the clerk's desk, and three hundred yards long, lay the dead bodies of 543 of my colored comrades, slain in the defence of their country, who had lain down their lives to uphold its flag and its honor as a willing sacrifice. And as I rode along, guiding my horse this way and that lest he should profane with his hoofs what seemed to me the sacred dead, and as I looked at their bronzed faces, upturned in the shining sun, as if in mute appeal against the wrongs of the country for which they had given their lives, and whose flag had been to them a flag of stripes, in which no star of glory had ever shone for them. Feeling I had wronged them in the past, and believing what was the future duty of my country to them, I swore a solemn oath, 'May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever fail to defend the rights of the men who have given their blood for me and my country that day and for their race forever.' And, God helping me, I will keep that oath."

[2] January 7, 1874.

XV

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

THE sinking of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, on the night of February 15, 1898, wrought the American people to such a pitch that war between the United States and Spain was inevitable. This was declared April 21, and a blockade of the Cuban ports effected the next day. Cessation of hostilities was announced by a proclamation of President McKinley, August 12, 1898, and peace concluded by treaty ratified February 6, 1899. Cuba became a Republic, independent of Spain; Porto Rico was annexed to the United States and the Philippines became part of our insular possessions. In short, the United States, hitherto restricted in authority to the continent of North America, became a world-wide power.

In this struggle between the United States and Spain, compressed within an active period of less than four months, the Negro soldier won a distinction surpassing, if possible, that of his fame in the Revolution, the War of 1812 or that for the preservation of the Union.

At the beginning of hostilities four regiments of colored soldiers in the regular army establishment, the Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth United States Infantry, and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry comprised the entire representation of the Negro in the army; but during the brief progress of the war this quota was increased by one company, of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, the Ninth Ohio Battalion,[1] companies A and B of the

[1] Major Chas. Young, a Negro graduate of West Point Academy.

First Indiana, the Eighth Illinois regiment, two battalions of the Twenty-third Kansas, the Third North Carolina regiment, the Second South Carolina, the Third Alabama and two battalions of the Sixth Virginia. To these must be added what are otherwise known as the immunes, for service in the Philippines, the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth U. S. Volunteers. The officers in the Eighth Illinois, the Twenty-third Kansas and the Ohio battalion, line and field, were colored; only the line officers in the other commands were colored men.

No regiment South of Mason and Dixon's line was actually engaged on the fighting line in Cuba during the short conflict, but all the four colored regiments from the immunes of the colored volunteers saw service on the island of Cuba.

There was nevertheless no hesitation in the response of the South to the call for troops; but before their troops were mustered in the service and could reach the front the real work had been accomplished. There were, however, white commissioned officers that had seen service on the Confederate side during the Civil War, who distinguished themselves in the Spanish American War. Among these were Generals Fitzhugh Lee of Virginia and Joseph Wheeler of Alabama. Sons of veterans of Federals and Confederates alike received lieutenancies and higher commissions, but no such honor was given the son of a Negro veteran. The Negro officer had once more to win his spurs and demonstrate his fitness for the honors grudgingly awarded him by State and Nation. President McKinley, it is reported, had declared his intention of promoting to a brigadiership some Negro soldier before the end of the struggle, and the prospect seemed assured when there were brigaded regiments in Cuba; but on the eve of the retirement of its commanding officer, the officer next in line, being Major Charles Young, the brigade was suddenly disbanded by order of General Henry A. Corbin, who though he had commanded colored troops in the Civil War, is held responsible for the failure of the colored

soldier to receive high commissions during the Spanish-American War.

At the Battle of El Caney the capture of the stone fort was due to the gallantry of the Twenty-fifth Infantry; at San Juan the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments distinguished themselves, as did the Twenty-fourth Infantry. The surrender of the Spanish forces followed shortly afterwards and as indicated, the war speedily came to an end.

Another correspondent thus expresses the situation:

"American valor never shone with greater luster than when the Twenty-fifth Infantry swept up the sizzling hill of El Caney to the rescue of the Rough Riders. Two other regiments came into view, but the bullets were flying like driving hail, the enemy were in trees and ambushes with smokeless powder, and the Rough Riders were biting the dust and were threatened with annihilation." *

There are many thrilling incidents testifying to the bravery of the colored soldiers in this war. Stephen Bonsal, a newspaper correspondent, expresses what was well nigh the universal opinion. This is what he said: "It is a fact that the services of no four white regiments can be compared with those rendered by the four colored regiments—the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. They were to the front at La Guasima, at Caney and at San Juan, and in what was the severest test of all that came later in the yellow fever hospitals.

"L" Company is the oldest military organization among the colored people of this country. It dates back to 1782, when the Bucks of America was formed in Boston and was so far as authentic history points out, the first independent military company of America. This military company was made up of Negroes living in or near Boston,

* Theodore Roosevelt was with the Rough Riders. In saving them, these black regiments saved for New York a governor and for the United States a president.

who had fought in the Revolutionary War. It was over 100 strong and under the command of one Colonel Middleton. It was presented with a set of colors by John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and then Governor of Massachusetts. The flag is now in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In course of time this company applied to become a part of the Militia of Massachusetts, but was not only refused but they could not bear arms. In 1812 they again applied to the State to form an artillery regiment, but were refused. About 1837 they became the Boston Blues and shortly after the Massasoit Guards. A few years later they adopted the name of Liberty Guards and were upon certain occasions permitted by State authorities to bear arms. This name was held down to 1863, when this company became the nucleus of the Fifty-fourth Infantry Massachusetts Colored Volunteers. Those who remained at home were taken into the Massachusetts home guard, and were the first colored company in the country to be recognized as a part of a State provisional armed force.—R. T. in *New York Age*. Also "Nell's Colored Patriots" and Livermore's "Researches."

XVI

THE NEGRO CHURCH

THE existence of the Negro church has been incidentally referred to. Such is its importance, however, that it deserves more detailed treatment. The original colored churches in different sections of the country came about in one of the following ways:

1. They were in some cases the result of special missionary effort on the part of the whites;
2. They were brought about by direct discrimination against the blacks made by the whites during divine worship;
3. They were the natural sequence, when on account of increase in numbers it became necessary for congregations to divide; whereupon the blacks were evolved as distinct churches, but still under the oversight, if not the exclusive control, of the whites;
4. They were, in not a few cases, the preference of colored communicants themselves, in order to get as much as possible the equal privileges and advantages of government denied them under the existing system.

The establishment of many of these churches took place at substantially about the same time, in sections more distant at that period than now, it was before the time of the railroad, the use of the steamboat or the telegraph; so it can easily be determined whether their coming into existence at the same time can be attributed to similar causes.

The first regular Church organization was a Baptist Church,

at Williamsburg, Virginia, formed in the year 1776, and recognized as such in 1790.[1] Following it were two Baptist Churches, one in 1788 in Savannah, and the other in 1790 in Augusta, Georgia.[2] These three precede the Episcopal Church, St. Thomas in Philadelphia in 1791; Bethel Church, Philadelphia, in 1794; Zion Methodist Church, New York City, in 1796; Joy Street Baptist Church, Boston, in 1805; Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York, in 1803; First Baptist, St. Louis, 1830. So far as the establishment is concerned of the colored Methodist Churches which evolved the A. M. E. and A. M. E. Zion denominations, persecution by the whites was the moving cause. They were compelled to protect themselves against the yoke sought to be imposed on them, by worshiping among themselves. The one movement in Philadelphia, the other in New York, moved in parallel—often in rival lines. New York and Philadelphia were soon in free States and their methods were those of freemen, in name at least, while the establishment of colored Methodist Churches in the South, as in Maryland under the direction of the whites, illustrated one of the instances of special missionary effort. The colored Baptist Churches in the South came mostly into existence mainly through the third cause indicated. The Presbyterian Church, as found among the colored people, is due to the operation of two causes; the desire of the colored people to be by themselves and that of the whites to strengthen their denomination among this class. The first colored Episcopal Churches, both in New York and Philadelphia, resulted directly from causes similar to those which produced the colored Methodist Churches in these localities.

A word as to the men mainly instrumental by reason of their position as pioneers in organizing these first churches in the different colored denominations, may not be out of place.

The first colored pastor of which there is authoritative state-

[1] Semple's Rise of the Virginia Baptists.
[2] History of the Baptists, David Benedict. Infra W. J. White.

ment was Andrew Bryan, a convert to the preaching of George Liele by whom he was baptized. By Abraham Marshall, a noted pioneer Baptist (white), he was ordained in 1788 as the pastor of an African Baptist Church at Savannah, Georgia.

Rev. W. J. White, D.D. of Augusta, Ga., the veteran editor of the *Georgia Baptist* in a letter dated September 6, 1893, writes as follows: "The Springfield Baptist Church in this city is the only individual church that has a hundred years of undisputed existence in Georgia among colored Baptists, and I think the only colored Baptist church in the country having at this time 103 years of undisputed and uninterrupted history. Rev. Jacob Walker who died in 1845 and had been pastor twenty-seven years was succeeded by Rev. Kelly Lowe who served sixteen years, till 1861, and Rev. Henry Watts succeeded Rev. Kelly Lowe, serving to 1877, sixteen years. These three men served together nearly sixty years and are all buried in the yard of the church. The pastorate prior to 1818 had been filled by Cæsar McCradey who was also buried in the churchyard but the spot has been lost, and Ventor Golphin whose history is obscure. In 1888 we celebrated in Savannah the centennial of our denomination, which dates January 20, 1788, when the first church was organized. But in Savannah there are two churches claiming the paternity. One of these churches is the First African and the other is the First Bryan. While there may be dispute as to which of these churches is entitled to the honor of being the very church organized in 1788, there is no dispute with reference to the spot upon which the first church was organized and the date of the organization. My impression is that at even an earlier date than this a colored church was in existence upon some island not far distant from Savannah."[3]

[3] In the "Silver Bluff Church" by Rev. Walter H. Brooks this divine says "the Negro Baptist Church at Silver Bluff, S. C., was organized not earlier than 1773, not later than 1775."

The Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Portsmouth, Virginia (white), known as the Court Street Baptist Church, was Reverend Josiah Bishop, a Negro. He succeeded Reverend Thomas Armstead (white), a commissioned officer of high rank in the Revolutionary War. While Mr. Bishop's ability was not questioned, his pastorate for obvious reasons, was not of long duration. He went North and organized the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York in 1803, the first colored Baptist Church in the free States. From this church the other colored Baptist Churches of the North and East sprang.

Of the churches in the North, first was Richard Allen, one of the leaders in the Free African Society, from the members of which came the leaders, almost the organization itself, both of the Bethel Methodist and the St. Thomas Episcopal Churches in the city of Philadelphia. He was born February 12, 1760, a slave in Philadelphia. At an early age he gave evidence of a high order of talents for leadership. He was converted while quite a lad and licensed to preach in 1782. In 1797 he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Francis Asbury, who had been entrusted by John Wesley with the superintendence of the work in America. He possessed talents as an organizer of the highest order. He was a born leader, an almost infallible judge of human nature and was actively identified with every forward movement among the colored people, irrespective of denomination.

Absalom Jones, next in historical importance, was born a slave at Sussex, Delaware, November 6, 1746. At the age of sixteen he was taken to Philadelphia. He was married in 1770, purchased his wife and afterwards succeeded in obtaining his own liberty.

James Varick was born January 10, 1768, at Newburg, New York. He was licensed to preach in 1803 in New York, and was elected and consecrated the first Superintendent of the A. M. E.

Zion Church in June, 1821. He died after a brief administration June 9, 1827. He was one of the colored men members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York who were permitted to hold meetings under their own auspices in 1796, and was one of the first elders elected when the first steps looking to a separate and independent organization of the colored membership in New York was taken.

Rev. John Gloucester, the first colored minister to act as pastor of a colored Presbyterian Church, possessed a fair English education which he received from private sources. He was a pioneer of Presbyterian ministers, as four of his sons, Jeremiah, John, Stephen and James, became Presbyterian ministers, and from the Sunday School of his church three other well-known ministers went forth, Rev. Amos to Africa, Rev. H. M. Wilson to New York and Rev. Jonathan C. Gibbs, who died in Florida, after having been Secretary of State and State Superintendent of Schools. Like Allen and Jones, Mr. Gloucester was born a slave, in Kentucky about the year 1776. Such was his intelligence that he was purchased by Rev. Gideon Blackburn, of the Presbyterian denomination also of Kentucky. The records show that when Mr. Gloucester was ordained Dr. Blackburn was the moderator of the presbytery, who on the appointment of Rev. Gloucester to the First African Presbyterian Church liberated him. He died May 2, 1822, after fifteen years of service in the church, during which time it rapidly increased in numbers from twenty-two to three hundred. With the increase of the colored population and its distribution to other centers, other religious societies sprang up, so that wherever you find any number of these people in the earlier decades of the Republic you will find a church, often churches, out of all proportion to the population.

In the West, it may be stated, that colored churches were not the result of secessions or irregular, wholesale withdrawals

from the white churches as in the East. They sprang up directly in the path of the westward migration of colored people from the South and the East.

In the South, the whites were in complete and absolute control, in church as in State. Colored people attended and held membership in the same church as the whites; though they did not possess the same rights or privileges. They either had special services at stated times or they sat in the galleries. When this colored membership increased to very large numbers separate churches *for* rather than *of* the colored people were established. In the South as in the North, this membership was principally in the Baptist and Methodist Churches, and to these denominations did these separate colored churches belong, with exceptions so rare that they may be named as to cities or districts where it was otherwise. Outside of the few ministers of the A. M. E. and the A. M. E. Zion Churches in the border States, it is doubtful if there were a score of colored pastors in full control of colored churches in the South before the Civil War.

There were a few other colored ministers not pastors of any historic churches yet who were so very conspicuous by their work as pioneers as to deserve special notice. There were Harry Hosier, who accompanied Bishop Asbury, frequently filling appointments for him, Rev. Daniel Coker of Baltimore and Rev. Peter Spencer of Delaware who organized the "Protestant" branch of colored Methodism. There was the Rev. George Liele, a native of Virginia, the slave or body servant of a British officer during the Revolutionary War. Throughout that struggle he preached in different parts of the country. Rev. Andrew Bryan whom Liele had baptized became pastor of the Savannah Church. Compelled to leave the United States at the close of the war, Liele went to Jamaica, in which he organized in 1783 a church with four members. By 1790 he had baptized more than four hundred persons on that island. In 1793 he built there the very

first non-Episcopal religious chapel, to which there were belonging in 1841, 3700 members. That white Baptist missionaries subsequently went to the West Indies is to be attributed to Rev. Liele's work, for they were brought there as a direct result of his correspondence with ecclesiastical authorities in Great Britain.

Next we have Lott Carey, also a native of Virginia, born a slave in Charles City Co., about 1780. In 1804 Lott removed to Richmond where he worked in a tobacco factory and from all accounts was very profligate and wicked. In 1807, being converted, he joined the First Baptist Church, learned to read, made rapid advancement as a scholar and was shortly afterwards licensed to preach. After purchasing his family in 1813, he organized in 1815 the African Missionary Society, the very first missionary society in the country, and within five years raised seven hundred dollars for African Missions. He was a man of superior intellect and force of character with a wide range of reading. When he decided to go to Africa his employers offered to raise his salary from eight hundred to one thousand dollars a year. Carey was not induced by such a flattering offer, for he was determined. His last sermon in the Old First Church in Richmond was compared by an eye-witness, a resident of another State, to the burning, eloquent appeals of George Whitefield. He was the leader of the pioneer colony to Liberia, where he arrived even before the agent of the Colonization Society. In his new home he was made the Vice-Governor of the colony, and became Governor in fact while Gov. Ashmun was temporarily absent in this country. Carey did not allow his position to betray the cause of his people, for he did not hesitate to expose the duplicity of the Colonization Society and even defy their authority, it would seem, in the interests of the people. While casting cartridges to defend the colonists against the natives in 1828, the accidental upsetting of a candle caused an explosion that resulted in his death.

Special reference must also be made to the Rev. John Chavis of North Carolina, the *first* colored man ordained to the Presbyterian ministry. Dr. Alexander, subsequently professor at Princeton College, had urged his selection as pastor at the church in Philadelphia. There is a conflict of statement as to where he obtained his education, but it is certain, as the sequel showed, that it must have been thorough and universally recognized by the whites as being the very best.

Several years ago an elderly lady, the niece of Rev. Chavis,[4] gave the writer the information that he attended or graduated from the Hampden Sidney College, Va., during or shortly after the Revolutionary War. Elsewhere the statement is given that he was once at Princeton Seminary, New Jersey, and the fact that Dr. Alexander urged his claims for the church in Philadelphia to which Rev. Gloucester was appointed, gives color to the statement as to his stay at Princeton, but it is not conclusive as to his status in that institution. In the History of Education in North Carolina, published by the U. S. Bureau of Education, four octavo pages are given to a biographical sketch of this same Rev. John Chavis, for he was the principal of the best academy in the State of North Carolina for the training of white youth. Many of the most eminent men in the service of the State and the Nation of the sons of North Carolina were trained by this Negro, and they boarded at his house too while they were being educated. In the historical publications of the University of North Carolina is quite an interesting biographical account of Rev. Chavis and his school. He preached frequently in the white churches throughout the State, during which time he was often a guest at the firesides of the most aristocratic families of that noble State, not staying in the kitchen, but eating at the same table with them. His last sermon, preached about 1837 when he formally retired from public life, was published in pamphlet form and had a wide sale.

[4] Mrs. Thomas James, Sr., Washington, D. C.

Although the colored churches sprang up individually, since similar causes operated on them, they could not long remain apart. Accordingly in 1816 the A. M. E. denomination as previously stated, was organized by a convention in Philadelphia, with Richard Allen as the first bishop. Those Methodist Churches which followed the leadership of Zion Church in New York City, in 1820 held a convention and organized the A. M. E. Zion Church and after having first had a white superintendent, in 1822 elected one of their number, Rev. James Varick, as their Superintendent. These two organizations organized conferences and pushed their work throughout the North, so that up to the war they were found in nearly every State in which there were any considerable number of colored people.

The Presbyterian and Baptist Churches for two reasons continued isolated much longer. In the first place the former denomination was exceedingly weak numerically, and so was the latter denomination in the North as compared with the Methodists, and their form of government being congregational, each church was a law to itself and there was less necessity for cooperation. The Episcopalians were fewer still.

In 1837 the Louisiana Baptist Association was organized by Rev. Joseph Willis, termed a mulatto, and in 1838 the Wood River Association was organized in Illinois. From this body in 1853 there was organized the Western Baptist Convention, which in 1864 developed into the Northwestern and Southern Baptist Convention.

The Civil War over, a great impetus was given to the establishment of colored churches North as well as South. There was an opening at the South for hundreds to fill pulpits. Thousands of the race at the South left for the North, giving new life and vigor to the old churches and organizing new ones. At the South churches were organized in large numbers. Among the Baptists, associations and conventions sprang up everywhere to promote their denominational interests. Conferences came into

being as pioneer bishops, A. M. E. and A. M. E. Zion, strode through the Southland "to seek their brethren." Nor were other interests idle. Schools were established by charitable and religious organizations of the North and in their wake came Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches.

"The first State Convention of colored Baptists was organized in North Carolina in 1866; the second in Alabama and the third in Virginia in 1867; the fourth in Arkansas in 1868 and the fifth in Kentucky in 1869. To-day (1890) there are colored conventions in fifteen states."

As an illustration of the growth and development of the national organization among the Baptists under the condition of freedom, the American National Baptist Convention was organized August 25, 1866, the Baptist African Missionary Convention of the Western States and Territories organized January 15, 1873, the Baptist Foreign Missionary Convention of the United States, organized December, 1880; last but not least, the Baptist Educational Convention in 1892.

Under the fostering influences of these organizations, associations and conventions among the Baptists, conferences, annual and general, among the Methodists, presbyteries and synods among the Presbyterians, congresses of the colored Catholics and Episcopal churches, we have a showing as phenomenal as that of the growth of the American Negro in education and the accumulation of property.

XVII

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The failure of the Republican Party in the administration of Benjamin Harrison to safeguard the exercise by the Negro of the right of franchise in the South, followed by the revision of the Constitution of Mississippi in 1890, was notice to the opponents of Negro citizenship especially in view of the adverse decisions of the United States Supreme Court, that they could have a free hand in dealing with the interpretation of the 14th and 15th Amendments and the legislation based thereon.

They did not as a rule openly avow a purpose to attack the amendments, but pretended that their sole object was to raise the standard of the electorate by rescuing it from the control of the vicious and the ignorant. Following the Mississippi plan other Southern States revised their constitutions until to-day the Fifteenth Amendment is a dead letter in the States South of the Potomac River. Laws establishing separate cars on the common carriers, popularly known as "Jim Crow" car laws, were enacted throughout the same section.

Inferior educational facilities in the schools for the Negro were still further curtailed, going even so far in the city of New Orleans, as to make no provision for colored youth beyond the fifth grade. The extent of the disparity between colored and white schools is difficult to prove by the record, because the absence of separate statistical reports of the costs of each race prevents a comparative showing of the per capita cost, salaries and equipment for colored and white education. The propaganda which has accomplished these results has included such

men as Thomas Dixon in private life, Benjamin Tillman, Hoke Smith and J. A. Vardaman in the political arena. The press of many metropolitan newspapers, through men of Southern birth, training and traditions and by means of bold headlines, exaggerating the weaknesses of the Negro and concealing and ignoring his commendable progress, except where it is absolutely impossible to do otherwise, is a most important factor.

For a long time there was no voice raised in protest which the Nation could or would hear. Some organizations in which Southern whites have leadership have aimed to promote the educational interests of the race, but scarce a voice of protest was raised against the prevailing and popular tendencies when the second Mississippi plan was introduced.

Frequent lynchings, many of them by burning at the stake were chronicled in the newspapers of the country, and directly and by innuendo the charge of rape was held against the Negro. Public sentiment gradually became, from being sympathetic, hostile to the Negro; even the great Republican Party became indifferent and at times seemed to indorse the Southern reactionary plan. Finally President W. H. Taft announced in his inaugural address, March 4, 1909, a line of policy which was a complete surrender to the Southern view respecting the equal citizenship of the Negro. This was an avowed public policy in the centennial year of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator.

This also illustrates how perplexing are the problems of the evolution of Negro citizenship at the close of the first decade of the 20th century. The era of safeguarding his rights and privileges by the agencies of constitutional amendments and statutory provisions, it has been cited, passed with the close of the nineteenth century, so far as there are present indications. But such constructive tendencies for the amelioration of his social, material, even his political condition, as the Business Men's League, the National Medical Association and Educational Con-

ventions, and organized sociological movements, give a rift in the sky. Under the advancement of these movements there are more than a score of men—women too—destined to have as salutary an influence in the progress and advancement of the race as the men and women who became eminent before the Civil War and the Reconstruction period when there was a sympathetic body of white men and women that could be relied on to advance the growth and maintenance of a public sentiment that promoted freedom and enfranchisement.

In the profession of medicine and surgery, Dr. Daniel H. Williams of Chicago, Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland of Newport, R. I., Dr. Solomon C. Fuller of the Hospital for the Insane of Massachusetts and Dr. C. V. Roman of Nashville, Tenn., have more than a local recognition as experts in their chosen profession.

In law, Ashbie W. Hawkins of Baltimore, who has thus far demonstrated his capacity in the highest courts of Maryland; Edward H. Morris in the leading bar of the West, and William H. H. Hart of the District of Columbia and Josiah T. Settle of Memphis, Tenn., have demonstrated the ability of the Negro lawyer in the higher realms of the profession. As educational administrators with independent institutions, Dr. John Hope of Morehouse College, R. R. Wright of Georgia State College, Inman E. Page of Langston University, Bishop George W. Clinton, William A. Joiner of Wilberforce University, W. S. Scarborough, and Joshua H. Jones, now an A. M. E. Bishop, have demonstrated the executive ability of which successful college Presidents are made. Two women have displayed in this same field capabilities which spell academic success—Lucy Laney, who founded the Haines Institute at Augusta, Ga., and Nannie H. Burroughs, who created the Girls' National Training School at Lincoln Heights, almost within the shadow of the National Capitol and the axis of the great National Lincoln Monument.

In the business of publishing, R. H. Boyd of Nashville, Tenn. and Ira T. Bryant have achieved flattering success. In pure

science, E. E. Just of Howard University has a distinction as a biologist in a field in which the lamented Prof. Earl Finch of Wilberforce University was winning international reputation. As a journalistic controversialist, John E. Bruce, President of the Negro Society for Historical Research, has a reputation that is conceded wherever the Negro race has a conscious influence.

The sermons of Rev. Francis J. Grimké on National topics are great headlights exhorting to higher living and rebuking national hypocrisy. In his brother, Archibald H. Grimkè, President of the American Negro Academy and Kelly Miller, of Howard University, the race has two masters of criticism and controversy, both of offense and defense, sterling champions of the integrity and destiny of the American Negro. In the field of letters there are Stanley G. Brathwaite, the poet, Charles W. Chesnutt, the novelist, and Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, sociologist and editor; R. R. Wright, Jr., and M. N. Work, sociologists and statisticians. In journalism, John Mitchell is unique—publisher and banker. As a business genius, Charles Banks amid the bayous of Mississippi, and W. R. Pettiford, of Birmingham, have solved the problem of industrial credits.

T. Thomas Fortune and William Monroe Trotter diametrical in methods and manners are both exemplifications of the power of Negro journalism.

But even the array of such a coterie of capable men and women seems futile in the face of the unanimity of the ruling classes of the South and the acquiescence of the North in the policy and program of the South. Fortunately, over and against the politicians of the South as represented by those who have infused the poison of their pernicious principles in the body politic, retarding, postponing the realization of the blessings of liberty to all regardless of race, there has been a quiet band of white Southern thinkers who have introduced the leaven of humane principles in accord with the Federal Constitution, the

brotherhood of man and true Christianity. They deserve especial mention here. There was Atticus G. Haygood who in "Our Brother in Black" made a stirring appeal to the white people of the South for fairness of treatment. George W. Cable, native and to the manner born, while still a resident of Louisiana, in magazine articles and books, in the "Freedmen's Case in Equity," and "The Silent South," and Lewis H. Blair of Richmond, Virginia, a representative business man, in "The Prosperity of the South dependent upon the elevation of the Negro" took the most advanced ground for identical treatment by the State and National Government to all classes of citizens. Rev. Quincy Ewing, an Episcopal clergyman, in more than one sermon delivered in the heart of the South and published in Metropolitan newspapers, with fiery eloquence, masterly and fearlessly has contended for the equal citizenship of the Negro. So many others there are who have pleaded for the extension of educational advantages at the expense of the property of the State that to make personal mention of a few would do injustice to all.

But the operation of these forces to transform civil and political conditions necessarily would be slow and unsatisfactory. Unsatisfactory, because they do not attack the vital weakness of the situation, the moral cowardice of the Republican Party when in power, and the aggressive policy of the Democratic Party as shown by their advocacies when in control, in the matter of Negro citizenship, which is the crux of the whole Southern problem. It all depends on whether or not the *Negro is an equal citizen* that there is any real difficulty at issue, anything requiring adjustment.

The Constitutional League took a step in advance of other movements in raising funds for the enforcement of the laws through an appeal to the Federal Courts, and in carrying to a final issue without the heralding of trumpets, tests to invoke the Federal Constitution for the Negro's protection.

The National Society for the Improvement of the Colored People, however, has the most comprehensive program. By means of a national organization with affiliated branches located at various centers of population and a bureau of publicity, a systematic attempt is made to secure a recognition of the rights of the Negro through the courts and friendly legislation and the liberalization of public sentiment. In method it closely follows the spirit of the Anti-Slavery Society which eighty years ago began the aggressive work against the existence of chattel slavery; a work which it kept up for thirty years until the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln was issued and the Thirteenth Amendment to the National Constitution was assured. With this definite cause of action followed with the intelligence, vigor, and persistence of the movement of which William Lloyd Garrison is the central figure, History may repeat itself, and it is among the possibilities that the apostle of this new movement may be Oswald Garrison Villard.

XVIII

PHILLIS WHEATLEY

WHILE the United States of America were subject to Great Britain the descendants of Africa in America were either slaves or the children of slaves, and, except in rare cases, were Negroes, that is, they had little or no traces of white blood in their veins. Only a few generations prior to the Revolutionary War a minister of the gospel of respectable ability (Morgan Godwyn), had actually written a book to prove that the Negro should not be used as a beast of burden without causing remorse of conscience.

It was at this period that the intellectual and social circles of both New and Old England had a revelation in the person of a native of Africa of pleasing personal appearance, of charming conversational qualities, an easy and accomplished correspondent, one who could write pleasing verses of poetry that were complimented for their grace and elegance, if not for their depth and profundity of thought.

This phenomenon was Phillis Wheatley who was brought to this country from Africa in 1761, when about seven years of age and sold in the streets of Boston as a slave to Mr. John Wheatley, a prosperous tailor and the owner of several other slaves. He desired her as a personal attendant of his wife, as a maid to wait on her in her old age. It was the humble and modest demeanor, especially the pleasing expression of the young child, that attracted Mr. Wheatley's attention.

As she had been torn from her home, ten thousands of miles distant, it was not to be expected that she had a very elaborate

wardrobe—in fact, she had the scantiest of clothing, an old piece of carpet forming her only dress.

When installed in Mr. Wheatley's home the uncommon intelligence of the slave girl was displayed in her frequent attempts to make letters upon the wall with pieces of chalk or charcoal. A daughter of Mrs. Wheatley observing her precocity undertook her education and was astonished by her intelligence, and by the ease and rapidity with which Phillis learned. She mastered the language in sixteen months; carried on with her friends and acquaintances an extensive and elegant correspondence while but twelve years of age; composed her first poem at fourteen, became a proficient Latin scholar at seventeen, and an authoress at nineteen, when we are told that she published her first collection of poems.

Although originally intended for menial pursuits, she was reared as a member of the family and not permitted to associate with the other family servants. With her growth in years her mind expanded and such was her progress in her studies that she drew the attention of a large circle of the most cultured people of Boston, who encouraged her by their association and their companionship.

At the early age of sixteen she was admitted by baptism into the membership of the Old South Church of which Rev. Samuel Sewall was pastor. Her record as a church member accorded with her reputation in society, in which her humility of character, her elevated tone of thought and her consistent life made her a shining light. Her devout Christian character displayed itself not only in some of her poems, but in her private correspondence. In one of her early poems she says—

> "'Twas Mercy brought me from my pagan land,
> Taught my benighted soul to understand
> That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too;
> Once I redemption neither sought nor knew,

Some view our sable race with scornful eye—
'Their color is a diabolic dye.'

"Remember, Christians, Negroes black as Cain,
May be refined and join th' angelic train."

Unlike very many persons who suddenly become famous in literary circles, she was not given to moods or sullenness. On the other hand, she was accommodating, ever ready and willing to receive all who called on her and to give an example of her marvelous gifts.

The subjects on which she wrote showed not only a wide range of reading, but an originality of treatment that established her right to be considered as one of the famous women of her time. The opinion is well supported that her knowledge of composition and the use of a correct style was the result of a familiarity with the best English writers and her association with the most cultivated people of the time, rather than as the result of any systematic instruction in English composition. Frequent classical allusions in her poems display fondness for early Roman and Grecian history. Readers of Virgil may note the influence of the Bard of Mantua in her "Ode to Washington."

In his "Colored Patriots of the Revolution," published more than fifty years ago, William C. Nell, himself a colored author, says: "There is another circumstance respecting her habits of composition. She did not seem to have the power of retaining the creations of her own fancy for a long time in her mind. If during the vigil of a wakeful night she amused herself by weaving a tale she knew nothing of it in the morning—it had vanished in the land of dreams. Her kind mistress indulged her with a light, and in the cold season with a fire in her apartment, during the night. The light was placed upon a table at her bedside, with writing materials so that, if anything occurred to her after she had retired, she might without rising or taking cold secure the swift-winged fancy ere it fled."

In the winter of 1773, at the age of twenty, a sea voyage being advised, owing to her declining health, she accompanied a son of Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley to England. She was then at the height of her fame. Her reputation had preceded her. She was cordially received by Lady Huntingdon, George Whitefield, the great evangelist, Lord Dartmouth, after whom Dartmouth College is named, the Lord Mayor of London and other persons of the highest social position; but this popularity did not turn her head. During her stay in England the first bound volume of her poems was published and dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon. A copper-plate engraving of the authoress appears, showing her in the attitude of meditation with her writing materials at her side. So true to life was this picture that when Mrs. Wheatley first saw a copy of the book she exclaimed: "See! look at my Phillis—! Does she not seem as though she would speak to me?" Arrangements had been made for the formal presentation of Phillis to George III, the reigning monarch, on his return to his court at St. James, but she was hurried home from Europe because of the tidings of the declining health of her mistress and benefactor, whose eyes after the return of Phillis were soon closed in death. Mr. Wheatley survived his wife by nine days.

In the next month Phillis entered on another experience. Shortly after her return from Europe she had received an offer of marriage from John Peters, said to be a handsome and attractive gentleman of color who kept at one time a grocery, later was employed as a journeyman baker, and also tried to practice law and medicine, but who was utterly unworthy of so rare and precious a human jewel as Phillis Wheatley. The marriage seems to have proven, it is written, an unfortunate if not an unhappy one. Another source thus speaks of John Peters: "He was a man of talents and information; that he wrote with fluency and propriety, and at one period read law. It is admitted, however, that he was disagreeable in his manners, and that on account of

his improper conduct Phillis became entirely estranged from the immediate family of the Wheatleys. They were not seasonably informed of her suffering condition or of her death."

Regarding these two estimates, it is a most reasonable inference that the devotion of his wife to him and the death of both Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley, as well as the personal pride which Mr. Peters as a freeman of color naturally possessed, may have had not a little to do with these opinions.

Three children were born to the young family, and all of them died in infancy. Unknown to her large circle of friends Phillis passed quietly away December 5, 1784. The *Independent Chronicle* gave the news to the world in the following paragraph:

"Last Lord's Day died Mrs. Phillis Peters (formerly Phillis Wheatley) age 31, known to the literary world by her celebrated miscellaneous poems. Her funeral is to be this afternoon at four o'clock from the house lately improved by Mr. Todd nearly opposite Dr. Bulfinch's at West Boston, where her friends are desired to attend." The house thus referred to was situated on or near the present site of the Revere House on Bowdoin Square, formerly known at times as a portion of Cambridge Street and sometimes as the westerly end of Court Street.

As an early American poet Phillis Wheatley has been sneered at these later years; but in her time her name was on every tongue and her merits freely acknowledged by competent judges. In the edition of her poems published in Boston in 1774 the following card, issued to silence criticism and objectors, speaks for itself: "We whose names are underwritten do assure the world that the poems specified in the following pages were as we readily believe, written by Phillis, a young Negro girl who was, but a few years since, brought an uncultivated barbarian from Africa, and has ever since been and now is under the disadvantage of serving as a slave in a family in this town. She has been examined by some of the best judges and is thought qualified to write

them." Among the signatures are those of Thomas Hutchinson, then Governor of Massachusetts, Andrew Oliver, Lieutenant-Governor, John Hancock, of Revolutionary fame, and John Wheatley, her master. The influence of her name and fame upon the rapidly growing anti-slavery sentiment in America was considerable, for the friends of the people of color took pleasure in pointing to her career as an illustration of the possibilities of the Negro under kind and considerate treatment and a fair opportunity for education. She was the very first of her race in America to attract attention because of her intellectual and moral character. Benjamin Banneker, who was twenty years her senior, had not compiled and published the almanac which brought him to general notice until nearly ten years after Phillis had died. Richard Allen who laid the foundation of the great A. M. E. Church and Absalom Jones, the founder of the first African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas in Philadelphia, as well as George Liele, the colored Baptist revivalist to whose activities the colored Baptist Churches at Savannah and Augusta, Georgia, owe their origin, were all later than Phillis Wheatley to be singled out as examples of the possibilities of the African in America. James Durham, the celebrated Negro physician, a native of Philadelphia, and whose fame was established by his professional success in New Orleans, though about the same age as Phillis Wheatley did not rise to eminence there until after her death. The most notable fact is that she was a native of Africa and—a woman. As woman is the mother of the race, Phillis Wheatley's preëminence among the representatives of her race stands unassailed and unassailable, suggestive and significant, a fact both pregnant and prophetic.

Though she had received marked attention while in England, at a time when the two countries, America and England, were on the eve of war, Phillis Wheatley was loyal to the colonies. That she shared in their general admiration for George Washing-

ton this correspondence abundantly proves. In a letter written to him from Providence, Rhode Island, under date of October 26, 1775, she says—

Sir:

I have taken the freedom to address Your Excellency in the enclosed poem, and I entreat your acceptance, though I am not insensible of its inaccuracies. Your being appointed by the Grand Continental Congress to be generalissimo of the Armies of North America, together with the fame of your virtues excite sensations not easy to suppress. Your generosity, therefore, I presume, will pardon the attempt.

Wishing Your Excellency all possible success in the great cause you are so generously engaged in, I am Your Excellency's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

Washington's reply was characteristic of the man. He writes as follows:

CAMBRIDGE, February 2, 1776.

Miss Phillis:

Your favor of the 26th of October did not reach my hand 'till the middle of December. Time enough, you say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences continually interposing to distract the mind and to withdraw the attention, I hope, will apologize for the delay and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed, and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents, in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not have been apprehensive that while, I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This and nothing else determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge or near headquarters, I shall

be happy to see a person so favored by the muses, and to whom Nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Jared Sparks, the biographer of Washington, thought that this poem was lost, and George W. Williams, the Negro historian, author of the History of the Negro in America, being unable to produce it arrived at the same conclusion. Fortunately, however, Washington's modesty in refusing it publicity lest his enemies might charge him with vanity did not succeed in concealing the poem from the world; for it appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* or *American Monthly* for April, 1776, a publication of which there are very few copies extant.

Thus runs the poem:

Celestial choir, enthroned in realms of light,
Columbia's scenes of glorious toils I write,
While Freedom's cause her anxious breast alarms,
She flashes dreadful in refulgent arms.

See Mother Earth her offspring's fate bemoan,
And Nations gaze at scenes before unknown;
See the bright beams of heaven's revolving light
Involved in sorrows and the veil of night!

The goddess comes, she moves divinely fair,
Olive and laurel binds her golden hair;
Wherever shines this native of the skies,
Unnumbered charms and recent graces rise.

Muse! bow propitious while my pen relates
How pour her armies through a thousand gates;
As when Eolus heaven's fair face deforms
Enwrapped in tempest and a night of storms;

Astonished ocean feels the wild uproar,
The refluent surges beat the sounding shore;
Or thick as leaves in autumn's golden reign,
Such, and so many, moves the warrior's train.

In bright array they seek the work of war,
Where high unfurled the ensign waves in air.
Shall I to Washington their praise recite?
Enough thou know'st them in the fields of fight.

Thee, first in peace and honors, we demand
The grace and glory of thy martial band.
Famed for thy valor, for thy virtues more.
Hear every tongue thy guardian aid implore!

One century scarce performed its destined round,
When Gallic powers Columbia's fury found;
And so may you, whoever dares disgrace
The land of Freedom's heaven-defended race!

Fixed are the eyes of nations on the scales,
For in their hopes Columbia's arm prevails,
Anon Britannia droops the pensive head,
While round increase the rising hills of dead.

Ah! cruel blindness to Columbia's state;
Lament thy thirst of boundless power too late.
Proceed, great chief, with virtue on thy side
Thy every action let the goddess guide,

A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine
With gold unfading, Washington, be thine!

XIX

BENJAMIN BANNEKER

A LITTLE more than one hundred years ago a black prince arrived on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. He came by compulsion, not by choice; he was brought here a slave. That he was no ordinary black is attested by the fact that he clung to his heathen gods and refused to work for those who had him in control; yet, he was of noble mien, dignified and possessed rare intelligence, even retaining to the last the name which he brought with him from Africa—Banneker.[1]

In the same year in which William Penn established his colony on the banks of the Delaware, an English peasant woman having accidentally spilled a can of milk—so the story goes—was charged with and found guilty of stealing. As her punishment she was transported to Maryland where she was bound to service for seven years, a mild sentence for the offense, because she could read. A thrifty woman she was and bought a small farm on which she subsequently placed Banneker, the exiled black African prince.

Though he would not work, Banneker touched the heart of Molly Welsh who liberated and married him.

Four children was the result of this union, one of whom, Mary Banneker, was married about the year 1730 to Robert, a native African who on being baptized in the Episcopal faith, was formally given his freedom. Robert, like many a one of his race of whom there is unfortunately no record, did not take the name of the white people who had claimed him a slave, but called himself Banneker, after his wife, the daughter of the African prince.

[1] Banaky.

Their oldest offspring, Benjamin Banneker, was born November 9, 1731, just about three months before George Washington. In the year 1737 Robert Banneker, his father, purchased for the sum of seventeen thousand pounds of tobacco a farm of one hundred acres. It was in a primeval wilderness, though only ten miles from Baltimore, then a village of less than thirty houses. Roads were few, houses were miles and miles apart, schools and churches were exceedingly scarce, the steam whistle had not yet echoed through the valleys nor across the plains of that primitive country, yet there were a few private schools, and to one of these the lad Benjamin was sent.

Here he was a most apt student and had received instruction as far as "double position," as it was then called, proficiency in which even a century later, was regarded as a test of arithmetical skill, and to-day, as compound proportion, by which name it is now known, it is a source of great perplexity to pupils in our advanced grammar schools. This was the limit of the educational advantages which Banneker received, but it must have been most thorough, for as the sequel proved, it was the foundation upon which he built so well as to take rank with the greatest scientific men of his times, to achieve a world-wide distinction for skill as mathematician and astronomer that one hundred years have not obliterated. Apart from his studies, his life was not eventful, yet it is deserving of all emulation. The oldest and only son among four children, he assiduously gave his service on his farm even after he had attained his majority. Upon the death of the father, in 1757 (which fact is learned from an entry in Benjamin's Bible), the full responsibility of the management of the farm fell upon him, the household duties being performed by Benjamin's mother whose vigor of body remained until she was quite advanced in years. It is said of her agility that even when over seventy years of age it was a common thing for her to run down the barn yard fowls which were desired for the table or for market.

In those days the country stores were the centers of information and social contact. Here the planters brought their corn, their wheat, their tobacco, for sale or for exchange; here the latest intelligence from London, Boston or Philadelphia was obtained. The country store also contained the post-office at which letters were received or dispatched at the weekly or monthly mail. Here the weekly newspaper, of which there were only two at that time in the colony, was read by the most intelligent and the affairs of the day discussed. Banneker, himself a landed proprietor, was frequently at the store during these gatherings at which his intelligent conversation, his quiet and dignified manner, and his accurate information on current affairs made him a unique but welcome visitor. He did not resort there to the neglect of his farm, for it was thoroughly well-kept, his orchards abounded in fruit, his cattle were sleek and fat, his storehouse was well filled with grain and tobacco.

It was in his early manhood about 1753 that Banneker having only seen a watch, with it for a model constructed a wooden clock all the parts of which—the wheels, the springs, the balances—were the result of his own ingenuity, skill, patience and perseverance. This is said to be the first clock ever constructed in America all the parts of which were made in this country. For more than twenty years it kept good time, an example of the cunning workmanship of the sable artificer.

An event of very great significance in the quiet neighborhood of Banneker's home was the erection in 1772 of the flour mills at what is now Ellicott City. The machinery, so crude and antiquated by present standards, was more than a nine days' wonder in these far-off days. Among others, Banneker, delighted even after the novelty had worn off, lingered to study it, to understand its philosophy and to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge of mechanics. The establishment of these mills was not only an event deigned to advance the material interests of this neighborhood. It was a means to him of great intellectual development.

The proprietors, the Ellicotts, became warmly attached to him, especially because of the strong personal friendship that grew up between him and George Ellicott. Mr. Ellicott saw in Banneker an intellect that not only was ever grasping after the truth, but one capable of an almost infinite development. Though Banneker was black he was to Ellicott, to use a favorite expression of Frederick Douglass—"a kinsman, a clansman, a brother beloved."

One day in 1787 Mr. George Ellicott loaned Banneker Mayer's Tables, Ferguson's Astronomy, Leadbeater's Lunar Tables and some astronomical instruments, which only those far advanced in mathematics could comprehend—telling Banneker at the time that at the earliest opportunity he (Ellicott) would explain them to him. Banneker took them and retired to the seclusion of his cottage where without any aid save that which God had given, he made himself so familiar with the contents of the volumes as to detect errors in their calculations. You can imagine Mr. Ellicott's surprise to find on next meeting the philosopher that his services as instructor were not needed. Banneker possessing "the cunning-warded keys" that open every door in one's pursuit of knowledge, at the mature age of fifty-six entered zealously upon the study of astronomy, closely observing all the natural phenomena of his neighborhood, as well as the movement of the heavenly bodies, making records, still in existence, that spread his fame far and wide.

The time required for his study and investigations so trenched upon that required for the work of the farm that the necessity of utilizing his scientific knowledge led him in part to consider the feasibility of compiling an ephemeris or almanac for the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. For this work he had advanced far towards the construction of tables of logarithms for the necessary calculations when Mr. Ellicott presented him with a set.

Many observers who saw Banneker asleep during the day in his

cottage which on a knoll commanded a fine view of the surrounding country, declared him to be a worthless, good-for-nothing fellow, a victim to an old propensity for intoxicating liquors; but it was untrue, for when,

"Nature let her curtain down,
And pinned it with a star,"

they might have seen Banneker enveloped in the ample folds of his cloak reclining on the ground, his eyes watching the heavenly bodies and determining their laws. In these days of observation this would be unnecessary; but Banneker was his own observatory and telescope—he built the roadbed on which he trod to success.

His patience and determination won. He solved the problems confronting him, if not to his own satisfaction, at least to that of mankind. When his almanac was nearly ready for publication he was prevented from carrying out his purpose by a most fortunate combination of circumstances.

The United States Government had begun with Washington's inauguration in 1789, but there was yet no permanent official home. In keeping with a provision of the Constitutional Convention, Maryland and Virginia had ceded to the central government certain territory, known as the Federal Territory, to be used as the Nation's Capital, but its exact boundaries had not been fixed. Mr. Andrew Ellicott was commissioned to survey the boundaries and Benjamin Banneker was invited as a man of scientific attainments and professional skill to assist in the work. He accepted the invitation and shared in fixing the boundaries of the District, in the selection of the site of the Capitol Building, in locating an eligible spot for the Executive Mansion, the Treasury and other buildings. So satisfactory was his work and so agreeable a companion was he that despite prevailing customs the Commissioners invited him again and again to a seat during their meals at the

same table with themselves, but he was content to occupy a seat at a side table in the same dining room.

Banneker having completed his engagement at the Federal Territory with which he was very well pleased as he recounted to his friends, addressed himself to the publication of his almanac.

That I may not be accused of exaggeration or giving an undue praise, I quote from Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe's Memoir before the Maryland Historical Society:

"The first almanac which Banneker prepared fit for publication was for the year 1792. By this time his acquirements had become generally known, and among others who took an interest in him was James McHenry, Esquire. Mr. McHenry wrote a letter to Goddard and Angell, then the almanac publishers in Baltimore. . . .

"In their editorial notice Messrs. Goddard and Angell say, 'they feel gratified in the opportunity of presenting to the public, through their press, what must be considered as an extraordinary effort of genius; a complete and accurate Ephemeris for the year 1792 calculated by a sable descendant of Africa.' And they further say, that 'they flatter themselves that a philanthropic public in this enlightened era, will be induced to give their patronage and support to this work, not only on account of its intrinsic merits (it having met the approbation of several of the most distinguished astronomers of America, particularly the celebrated Mr. Rittenhouse), but from similar notices to these which induce the editors to give this calculation the preference' [mark the words—*the preference*] 'the ardent desire for drawing modest merit from obscurity and controverting the long-established, ill-bred prejudice against the blacks.'"

This Mr. McHenry referred to was a division surgeon of the Revolutionary War, a trusted friend of General Washington, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and a Cabinet officer under both Washington and John Adams. David Ritten-

house was the celebrated astronomer and statesman who wrote the constitution of Pennsylvania, and a professor of the University of Pennsylvania. Like Banneker he had at an early age constructed a clock and for several years was the most noted clock maker in America.

The endorsement of two such men standing in the very first professional and political rank is sufficient to establish the standing and claim of this great, this monumental work of Banneker. For ten years this almanac was the main dependence of the farmers of Maryland, Delaware and the adjacent States, which demonstrated its utility, in fact it was discontinued only with the inability of Mr. Banneker, on account of old age to undergo the intellectual labor incidental to its further publication.

In the publication of his almanac, Banneker was not unmindful of the service rendered to the race of which he was a part. It was an opportunity that he did not shrink from seizing and improving. Before the first copy was received from the printers, he prepared a complete autograph copy and sent it accompanied by a letter to Thomas Jefferson, then U. S. Secretary of State—a most remarkable letter, a most manly appeal through Jefferson to the American people on behalf of a class of people who had rendered most valuable service to the country. The entire letter deserves to be read again and again for its courteous manner, its nobility of thought, its dignified utterances as well as for its eloquence. We have space only for a few extracts:

"Sir, I hope I may safely admit in consequence of the report which hath reached me, . . . that you are measurably friendly and well-disposed toward us and that you are willing to lend your aid and assistance to our relief from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced. . . . I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail with respect to us; and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one Universal Father hath given being to us all; that He hath not only made us all

of one flesh, but he hath also, without partiality, afforded to us all the same faculties, and that however variable we may be in society and religion, however diversified in situation or color, we are all of the same family and stand in the same relation to Him."

He next makes an argument that it is the duty of all who profess the obligations of Christianity to extend their power and influence for the relief of every part of the human race.

Notwithstanding the privileges freely accorded to him personally, Banneker keenly felt the force of the prejudice against the race as a class. He says:

I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them, of the deepest dye, and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, I now confess I am not under that state of tyrannical and inhuman captivity to which many of my brethren are docmed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favored, and which I hope you will willingly allow, you have received from the immediate hands of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

And so he makes argument after argument, and then apologizing for the length of the letter he concludes as follows:

I ardently hope that your candor and generosity will plead with you in my behalf when I make known to you that it was not originally my design; but that having taken up my pen in order to direct to you as a present a copy of an almanac which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation, sir, is the product of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desire to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein through my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculations for

the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding myself under engagements to printers of this State, to whom I had communicated my design on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you and which I humbly request you will favorably receive; and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet, I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own handwriting.

Jefferson's reply is brief, but characteristic.

PHILADELPHIA, August 31, 1791.

Sir: I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the conditions, both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit.

I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Science at Paris, and members of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it a document to which your color had a right, for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

What of Banneker as a social being? He never married. So thoroughly devoted was he to science that the tender passion, love, never gained the mastery. He lived by himself, prepared

his own food and washed his own clothes and in other domestic necessities his wants were supplied by his sisters who lived near by.

A few anecdotes will shed a light on other traits in his character.

When he was no longer actively engaged in agriculture, he divided his holdings into smaller tenancies, but since tenants were not regular in their payments and they considered it a personal affront when he called on them for his rent; nevertheless, he was determined to provide for his maintenance, so he sold his land for an annuity based on the market value of his land and his expectancy of life, reserving a residence for himself for life. He lived eight years longer than his calculations, and therefore got not only the value of his land but a handsome advance on it.

Reference has been made to his abundant orchards. His pear trees were especially noted, and the smaller boys of those days, the great-grandfathers of those who live in our midst to-day, would steal them while the old gentleman was intent on his astronomical calculations. Once when some boys were more persistent or bolder than usual he arose, left his table and coming to the door said, "Boys, you are perfectly welcome to one-half of the fruit if you will leave me the other." With that he returned to his room and resumed his studies. When he had occasion to come once more to the door he found that the boys had left him—the leaves.

He was a musician. Like that other great son of Maryland of three generations later, Frederick Douglass, he was quite a violinist. Nothing was more common than to find him under his favorite tree at evening tide playing his violin.

He was not a member of any church but the spirit of reverence for the Father of all pervades much of his writings. He frequently attended the meetings of the Society of Friends during which he leaned on his staff in the spirit of humility and devotion.

There was nothing to indicate the slightest trace of white blood in his appearance. "In size and personal appearance," says one who remembered him as he appeared in the later years of his life, "the statue of Franklin at the library in Philadelphia as seen from the street is a perfect likeness of him. This likeness is heightened because he wore a superfine drab broadcloth suit made in the old style, plain coat with a straight collar, and long waistcoat and a broad-brimmed hat."[2]

The excessive mental application kept up with intensity for a score of years told on his vigorous constitution and he became a victim to a complication of disorders, but his indomitable will added years to his life. He could not forego the pleasure of communing with nature under the open sky. It was during one of his walks one bright autumnal Sunday afternoon of 1804 that he complained of not feeling well—he returned to his cabin, became speechless and in a few hours passed from contemplation of the terrestrial to an enjoyment of prospects celestial.

His surviving relatives promptly carried out the injunction he had given, of taking over to Mr. Ellicott all his books, mathematical instruments and papers including the oval table on which he made his calculations—almost as soon as the breath had left his body.

Two days later the last funeral rites were held. While these were in progress a fire consumed his house and everything that remained in it, including the wooden clock that first evidenced his mechanical skill and inventive genius.

To-day his name is not more than a tradition; no headboard or other monument marks his final resting place, if even it be known.

In the Chautauqua for September, 1899, Gabriella M. Jacobs in winding up an article on "The Black Astronomer," says:

"Neither the site of his birthplace nor his grave was ever marked by a memorial. He was buried on a hillside near to his

[2] J. H. B. Latrobe's Memoir.

own property, but by the strange irony of fate, the exact location of his grave is now unknown."[3]

She says in concluding:

"A public school building for colored pupils in Washington, D C., known as the Banneker school is believed to be the only monument to the genius of the Negro who at the dawn of the nineteenth century foreshadowed the advancement of his race which marks the century's close."

[3] See also Bishop Payne, Infra.

XX

PAUL CUFFÈ, NAVIGATOR AND PHILANTHROPIST

Paul Cuffè was born in 1759 on the island of Cutterhunker near Westport, Massachusetts. There were four sons and six daughters of John Cuffè, who had been stolen from Africa, and Ruth, a woman of Indian extraction. Paul, the youngest son, lacked the advantage of an early education, but he supplied the deficiency by his personal efforts and learned not only to read and write with facility, but made such proficiency in the art of navigation as to become a skillful seaman and the instructor of both whites and blacks in the same art.

His father, who had obtained his freedom and bought a farm of one hundred acres, died when Paul was about fourteen. When he was sixteen, Paul began the life of a sailor. On his third voyage he was captured by a British brig and was for three months a prisoner of war. On his release he planned to go into business on his own account. With the aid of an elder brother, David Cuffè, an open boat was built in which they went to sea; but this brother on the first intimation of danger gave up the venture and Paul was forced to undertake the work single-handed and alone, which was a sore disappointment. On his second attempt he lost all he had.

Before the close of the Revolutionary War, Paul refused to pay a personal tax, on the ground that free colored people did not enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship. After considerable delay, and an appeal to the courts, he paid the tax under protest. He then petitioned to the legislature which finally agreed to his contention. His efforts are the first of

—From an Old Print.

PAUL CUFFE, REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT.

which there is any record of a citizen of African descent making a successful appeal in behalf of his civil rights. On reaching the age of twenty-five, he married a woman of the same tribe as his mother, and for a while gave up life on the ocean wave; but the growth of his family led him back to his fond pursuit on the briny deep. As he was unable to purchase a boat, with the aid of his brother he built one from keel to gunwale and launched into the enterprise.

While on the way to a nearby island to consult his brother whom he had induced once more to venture forth with him, he was overtaken by pirates who robbed him of all he possessed. Again Paul returned home disappointed, though not discouraged. Once more he applied for assistance to his brother David and another boat was built. After securing a cargo, he met again with pirates, but he eluded them though he was compelled to return and repair his boat. These having been made he began a most successful career along the coast as far north as Newfoundland, to the south as far as Savannah and as distant as Gottenburg.

In carrying on this business, starting in the small way indicated, he owned at different times, besides smaller boats, *The Ranger,* a schooner of sixty or seventy tons, a half interest in a brig of 162 tons, the brig *Traveller,* of 109 tons, the ship *Alpha,* of 268 tons and three-fourths interest in a larger vessel.

A few noble incidents may illustrate his resourcefulness, difficulties and success over all obstacles. When engaged in the whaling business he was found with less than the customary outfit for effectually carrying on this work. The practice in such cases was for the other ships to loan the number of men needed. They denied this at first to Cuffè, but fair play prevailed and they gave him what was customary, with the result that of the seven whales captured, Paul's men secured five, and two of them fell by his own hand!

In 1795 he took a cargo to Norfolk, Virginia, and learning

that corn could be bought at a decided advantage, he made a trip to the Nanticoke River, on the eastern shore of Maryland. Here his appearance as a black man commanding his own boat and with a crew of seven men all of his own complexion, alarmed the whites, who seemed to dread his presence there as the signal for a revolt on the part of their slaves. They opposed his landing, but the examination of his papers removed all doubts as to the regularity of his business, while his quiet dignity secured the respect of the leading white citizens, with one of whom he accepted an invitation to dine. He had no difficulty after this in taking a cargo of three thousand bushels of corn, from which he realized a profit of $1,000. On a second voyage he was equally successful.

Although without the privilege of attending a school when a boy, he endeavored to have his friends and neighbors open and maintain one for the colored and Indian children of the vicinity. Failing to secure their active coöperation, he built in 1797 a schoolhouse without their aid.

Because of his independent means and his skill as a mariner, he visited with little or no difficulty most of the larger cities of the country, held frequent conferences with the representative men of his race, and recommended the formation of societies for their mutual relief and physical betterment. Such societies he formed in Philadelphia and New York, and then having made ample preparation he sailed in 1811 for Africa in his brig *The Traveler,* reaching Sierra Leone on the West Coast after a voyage of about two months. Here he organized the Friendly Society of Sierra Leone and then went to Liverpool. Even here one of his characteristic traits manifested itself in taking with him to England for education a native of Sierra Leone. While in England, Cuffè visited London twice and consulted such friends of the Negro as Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce! These men were all interested in a proposition to promote the settlement on the West

Coast of Africa of the free people of color in America, many of whom had come into the domains of Great Britain as an outcome of the Revolutionary War. This opinion was at this period the prevailing sentiment of England respecting what was best for the Negro. Sir J. J. Crooks, a former governor of Sierra Leone, in alluding to its origin says: "There is no doubt that the influence of their opinion was felt in America and that it led to emigration thence to Africa before Liberia was settled. Paul Cuffè, a man of color . . . who was much interested in the promotion of the civil and religious liberty of his colored brethren in their native land, had been familiar with the ideas of these philanthropists, as well as with the movement in the same direction in England."[1]

This explains Cuffè's visit to England and to Africa—a daring venture in these perilous days—and the formation of the Friendly Societies in Africa and in his own country, the United States.

When his special mission to England was concluded, he took out a cargo from Liverpool for Sierra Leone, after which he returned to America.

Before he had made his next move, Cuffè consulted with the British Government in London and President Madison at Washington. But the strained relations between the two nations, as well as the financial condition of the United States at the time, made governmental coöperation impracticable if not impossible.

In 1815 he carried out the ideas long in his mind. In this year he sailed from Boston for Sierra Leone with thirty-eight free Negroes as settlers on the Black Continent. Only eight of these could pay their own expenses, but Cuffè, nevertheless, took out the entire party, landed them safe on the soil of their forefathers after a journey of fifty-five days and paid the expense for the outfit, transportation and maintenance of the re-

[1] History of Sierra Leone, Dublin, 1903, p. 97.

maining thirty, amounting to no less than twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000) out of his own pocket. The colonists were cordially welcomed by the people of Sierra Leone, and each family received from thirty to forty acres from the Crown Government. He remained with the settlers two months and then returned home with the purpose of taking out another colony. Before, however, he could do so, and while preparations were being made for the second colony, he was taken ill. After a protracted illness he died September 7, 1817, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. At the time of his death he had no less than two thousand names of intending emigrants on his list awaiting transportation to Africa.

As to his personal characteristics: Paul Cuffè was "tall, well-formed and athletic, his deportment conciliating yet dignified and prepossessing. He was a member of the Society of Friends [Quakers] and became a minister among them. . . . He believed it to be his duty to sacrifice private interest, rather than engage in any enterprise, however lawful . . . or however profitable that had the slightest tendency to injure his fellow men. He would not deal in intoxicating liquors or in slaves."

A current newspaper speaking of him says, "A descendant of Africa, he overcame by native strength of mind and firm adherence to principle the prejudice with which its descendants are too generally viewed. Industrious, temperate and prudent, his means of acquiring property, small at first, were gradually increased; and the strict integrity of his conduct gained him numerous friends to whom he never gave occasion to regret the confidence they had placed in him. His mercantile pursuits were generally successful and blessed with competence if not with wealth. The enlarged benevolence of his mind was manifested not only in acts of charity to individuals and in the promotion of objects of general ability, but more particularly in

the deep interest he sought for the welfare of his brethren of the African race.'' [2]

That he became a successful navigator, crossing the Atlantic in the path of the slave ship, thence journeying to England, returning to the United States and actually carrying the first American Negroes to the land of their ancestry, the cost of which was borne almost entirely by himself, and before the settlement of Liberia or even the organization of the American Colonization Society by white men—is sufficient reason to connect Paul Cuffè with the history of two continents and to make him an example worthy of emulation for his persistence and his pluck, his philanthropy and his patriotism.

[2] A Tribute for the Negro. Wilson Armistead.

XXI

SOJOURNER TRUTH

Isabella, known to history as Sojourner Truth, and without a rival in the annals of the American Negro, was born a slave of one Col. Ardinburgh in Hurley, Ulster County, New York, sometime during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Her experiences and those of her parents as to the cruel, harsh and brutal treatment received at the hands of those who claimed their service, the many whippings for alleged disobedience and their abandonment when no longer able to be profitable as laborers and the sale of others of her kindred on the auction block by which family ties were broken, made it clear that slavery in the North[1] at that distant day was not unlike what it was two-thirds of a century later south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Up to the time she was ten, Isabella spoke principally the Low Dutch, while those for whom she was employed were English. Constant blunders were inevitable and whippings as inevitably followed.

The death of both father and mother occurred while Isabella was quite young. The details of their death are pathetic in the extreme. Isabella's troubles were of the common lot of the slave. In course of time she married and became the mother of several children. Among these was a son whose abduction

[1] Her age is approximately fixed because she was liberated under the act of 1817 which freed all slaves who were forty years old and upward. Ten thousand slaves were then set at liberty. Those under forty years of age were retained in servitude ten years longer, when all were emancipated.

and sale beyond the boundaries of the State, contrary to law, fired her soul and she began that vigorous protest against the common practices of the day and appeal for justice that subsequently made her fame national and opened up a career that is not only unique but deserving of perpetual remembrance.

At an early period she became sensible of the influence of Christianity in her own life. She became a Methodist and on her removal to New York she joined the John Street Church, the mother of American Methodism and later she attached herself to the Zion Church in the same city, the mother of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination. By the purest accident she learned that a sister whom she had never known had been a member in the same church, but Sojourner did not obtain this knowledge until after that sister's death, when she remembered having met this sister frequently in class meetings.

The circumstances leading to Isabella's removal from the city of New York was her connection with what is known as the Mathias delusion about the year 1837-1840. This led to her giving up her own name and assuming that of *Sojourner,* to which she added *Truth.*

From New York she went to New England where she ultimately became an Anti-slavery lecturer. Wholly without education, advanced in years, her influence as a public speaker is a marvel. Nature had given her a very acute mind. She was quick at repartee, was thoroughly in earnest and her judgments were shrewd. Her belief in God and that in due time He would deliver her people from bondage was phenomenal. These facts had much to do with the very strong hold she had on all who heard her lectures. Many of the predictions which she made became true in manner and form as she had uttered them.

In those dark days at a meeting of anti-slavery men held at Boston, Frederick Douglass struck in the minor key a most despairing song. At his conclusion Sojourner Truth rose in the

audience and stretching forth her arms in a shrill voice exclaimed, "Frederick, is God dead?" The effect was electrical. By a flash the sentiment of the house was changed to one of hope and assurance.

Sojourner did not hesitate to call on anyone whom she desired to see, whether she had received an introduction to them or not. Thus it was that she called to see Harriet Beecher Stowe, the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Mrs. Stowe who had company at the time evidently did not care to be bothered with the quaint old woman, but she was no sooner in Sojourner's company than she realized the superior character of her visitor. Instead of abruptly tearing herself away from Sojourner or rudely dismissing her as a bore she requested the privilege from Sojourner of calling in her guests. This was granted and all were made to feel the superior moral power of this untutored black woman of the North.

During the Civil War Sojourner spent a protracted period at Washington in alleviating the sufferings of our sick. Sometimes she was at the hospitals; at other times the "contraband" camps then numerous about the National Capital, found her an angel of mercy. While here she called on President Lincoln, who received her kindly. It was not merely to gratify curiosity nor to express her gratification that such a broad-minded president was in the White House, but to receive his commendation on her mission as counselor to the freedmen that were assembled by the thousands in and around Washington. In this capacity she visited them in their slab houses, instructing women in domestic duties, preaching the gospel of cleanliness and how to maintain their liberty, the shackles of slavery having been struck from their limbs.

In those days "Jim Crow" street cars prevailed in Washington, and it was with difficulty at times that colored people could get seats even in them. Restive under this treatment, Sojourner complained to the president of the street railroads and the

"Jim Crow" sign was ordered to be taken off, yet everything was not plain sailing. The following incident deserves attention.

"Not long after this, Sojourner having occasion to ride signaled the car, but neither conductor nor driver noticed her. Soon another followed, and she raised her hand again, but they also turned away. She then gave three tremendous yelps, *'I want to ride! I want to ride!! I WANT TO RIDE!!!'* Consternation seized the passing crowd; people, carriages, go-carts of every description stood still. The car was effectually blocked up, and before it could move on, Sojourner had jumped aboard. Then there arose a great shout from the crowd, 'Ha! Ha! Ha!! She has beaten him, etc.' The angry conductor told her to go forward where the horses were, or he would put her out. Quietly seating herself, she informed him that she was a passenger. 'Go forward where the horses are, or I will throw you out,' said he in a menacing voice. She told him that she was neither a Marylander nor a Virginian to fear his threats; but was from the Empire State of New York, and knew the laws as well as he did. Several soldiers were in the car and when other passengers came in, they related the circumstance and said, 'You ought to have heard that old woman talk to the conductor.' Sojourner rode farther than she needed to go; for a ride was so rare a privilege that she determined to make the most of it. She left the car feeling very happy, and said, 'Bless God! *I have had* a ride.'"

Another incident is equally suggestive: "She was sent to Georgetown to obtain a nurse for the hospital, which being accomplished they went to the station and took seats in an empty car, but had not proceeded far before two ladies came in and seating themselves opposite the colored woman began a whispered conversation, frequently casting scornful glances at the latter. The nurse, for the first time in her life finding herself on a level with poor white folks and being much abashed,

hung her poor old head nearly down to her lap, but Sojourner, nothing daunted, looked fearlessly about. At length one of the ladies called out in a weak, faint voice, 'Conductor, conductor, does "niggers" ride in these cars?' He hesitatingly answered 'Yes—yes—yes,' to which she responded, ''Tis a shame and a disgrace. They ought to have a "nigger" car on the track.' Sojourner remarked, 'Of course colored people ride in the cars. Street cars are designed for poor white and colored folks. Carriages are for ladies and gentlemen. There are carriages,' pointing out of the window, 'standing ready to take you three or four miles for a sixpence, and then you talk of a "nigger" car!!!' Promptly acting upon this hint, those white women critics arose to leave. 'Ah!' said Sojourner, 'Now they are going to take a carriage. Good-by, ladies.' "

There are many anecdotes told that indicate her quickness at repartee, humor, sarcasm, her original and quaint philosophy.

"As Sojourner was returning to the home of Amy Post in Rochester, one evening, after having delivered a lecture in Corinthian Hall, a little policeman stepped up to her and demanded her name. She paused, struck her cane firmly upon the ground, drew herself up to her greatest height, and in a loud, deep voice deliberately answered, *'I am that I am.'* The frightened policeman vanished, and she concluded her walk without further questioning.

"During the war Sojourner met one of her Democratic friends, who asked her, 'What business are you now following?' She quietly replied, 'Years ago, when I lived in the city of New York, my occupation was scouring brass door knobs but *now* I go about scouring *copperheads.*' "[2]

At a temperance meeting in one of the towns of Kansas, Sojourner, whilst addressing the audience, was much annoyed by frequent expectorations of tobacco juice upon the floor. Pausing and contemplating the pools of liquid filth, with a look of

[2] Northern sympathizer with Confederates during the Civil War.

disgust upon her face, she remarked that it *had been* the custom of her Methodist brethren to kneel in the house of God during prayers, and asked how they could kneel upon *these* floors. Said she, speaking with emphasis, "If Jesus was here He would scourge you from this place."

Previous to the war, Sojourner held a series of meetings in northern Ohio. She sometimes made very strong points in the course of her speech, which she knew hit the apologists of slavery pretty hard. At the close of one of these meetings a man came up to her and said, "Old woman, do you think that your talk about slavery does any good? Do you suppose people care what you say? Why," continued he, "I don't care any more for your talk than I do for the bite of a flea." "Perhaps not," she responded, "but, the Lord willing, I'll keep you scratching."

Sojourner was invited to speak at a meeting in Florence, Mass. She had just returned from a fatiguing trip, and not having thought of anything in particular to say, arose and said, "Children, I have come here to-night like the rest of you to hear what I have got to say." Wendell Phillips was one of the audience. Soon after this he was invited to address a lyceum, and being unprepared for the occasion, as he thought, began by saying, "I shall have to tell you as my friend, Sojourner Truth, told an audience under similar circumstances, 'I have come here like the rest of you to hear what I have to say.'"

After the close of the Civil War, when more than four score years and ten, Sojourner Truth, unlike others who had labored for the abolition of slavery, discerned by intuition what men like Phillips, Garrison and even Douglass, seemed not to comprehend—that the protection and elevation of the Negro lay not through the exercise of the elective franchise alone, but through the ownership of the soil and industrial education. She advocated the location of the newly emancipated masses of the South on the public lands of the West. To that end she addressed

meetings urging this course, in different parts of the North, the West and the South, circulating petitions to Congress, and even visiting Washington and endeavoring to create public sentiment in this behalf.

It was during one of these visits to Washington, while U. S. Grant was President, that the writer listened to her lecture at the First Congregational Church of this city, where, in her quaint and original style, she drew crowds to hear her, many of whom had heard her in their youthful days in New York or in New England.

Sojourner had foreseen that the cities of the North and East would attract large numbers of colored people from the South, and that the over-crowding of the labor market would react upon the race in increasing the criminal element and in weakening their physical stamina. But if they were settled on the public lands of the West, there would follow careful economy, regular habits of life, thrift, wealth, and ultimately political power. She had, however, lived more than her three score years and ten and was reaching the century mark. It was not among the possibilities for her to take up successfully the work of the new era which emancipation and its new conditions had created. Her work belonged to another epoch, that of the anti-slavery era, in which her service was as unique as her personality.

Speaking of her death which occurred at Battle Creek, Nov. 26, 1883, where she had spent her last years, the Detroit *Post* and *Tribune* says, "The death of *Sojourner Truth* takes away the most singular and impressive figure of pure African blood that has appeared in modern times." A most positive and remarkable declaration, yet as true as it was emphatic and sweeping.

Another authority says, "Her mysterious communings with what she believed to be a supernatural power, her strange and weird appearance, her solemn demeanor, with her wit and elo-

quence, her boldness, her unselfishness, her deep religious feeling, that colored all her life and conversation, her earnestness and truthfulness, make up a character at once curious, admirable in many respects, and certainly unique. We shall not look upon her like again."

This review of her career was made in an influential newspaper:

"The labors of this woman in behalf of the slaves and of every class and condition of men and women who appealed to her sympathy for help are too familiar to the people of Michigan to need recapitulation here. She was the most interesting of all the peculiar people of her race who have come into prominence from the conditions of slavery. . . . Sojourner Truth was too old and too much occupied by other matters to set about learning to read when the time came that she might have done so. Her learning was of a kind not to be found in books, and neither her oratory nor her religion was fashioned in the schools. Quaint in language, grotesque in appearance and homely in illustrations, she was nevertheless a power in a meeting, and there was no tongue whose teachings were more feared than hers. There was a native nobility about her which broke down all barriers. 'People ask me,' she once said, 'how I came to live so long and keep my mind; and I tell them it is because I think of the great things of God; not the little things.' Has any learned philosopher said a better thing than that? She was brave enough to face ordeals that were almost worse to her than death. On one occasion, while pleading the cause of the slaves, the effect of her eloquence was in danger of being overcome by a charge made by one of the audience that she was an impostor, *a man in woman's clothes.* Her tall, bony form, and heavy voice gave support to the charge and the current was turning against her. She stepped to the front of the platform and bared her breast to the assembly, telling them it was their shame and not hers that such a sacrifice was

made necessary for her vindication. This is not so poetical as the story of Lady Godiva, but is it less honorable to womankind?

"There is not in all the annals of eloquence a more striking passage than one in the speech made by Sojourner at a Woman's Rights convention at Akron, Ohio, in 1857. The cause was unpopular and one of the male speakers took pains to ridicule women for their feebleness, helplessness and general uselessness. The meeting was in a church, and at the conclusion Sojourner rose up in her white turban from her seat on the pulpit steps, moved slowly and solemnly to the front, laid her old sunbonnet at her feet, opened with words that were thus repeated in a local paper:

" 'Well, chillen, when dar is so much racket dar must be something out of kilter. But what's all dis yer talkin' about? Dat man over dar say dat a woman needs to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches and to have the best places everywhere. Nobody ever helped me into carriages or over mud puddles or gives me any best place, and ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arms' (and she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power). 'I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and no one could head me off, and *ain't I a woman?* I could work as much and eat as much as any man (when I get it) and bear the lash as well, and *ain't I a woman?* Den dey talk about dis ting in de head—what is it dey calls it?' ('Intellect,' whispered someone near.) 'Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do with woman's rights? If my cup would hold but a pint and yourn hold a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full? Don't dat little man in black dar say woman can't have as many rights as men 'cause Christ wa'n't a woman. Whar did your Christ come from?' (Raising her voice still louder, she repeated:) 'Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman. Man had nothing to do with Him!' "

Art Masterpiece inspired by Sojourner Truth.

W. W. Story, the great American sculptor, first learned from the lips of Mrs. Stowe the story of *Sojourner Truth,* and dubbed her The Libyan Sibyl. The artist seemed impressed by it and after his "Cleopatra" had been finished he told the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," some years after, that the conception of another type of beauty in which "the elements of life, physical and spiritual, were of such excellence that the dark hue of the skin should seem only to add an appropriate charm," had never left him. In one of the World's Exhibitions he has a statue in which these ideas are worked out. It is called "The Libyan Sibyl" and was a companion to his "Cleopatra." The London *Athenæum* thus described them:

"The 'Cleopatra' and the 'Sibyl' are seated, partly draped, with the characteristic Egyptian gown, that gathers about the *torso* and falls freely around the limbs; the first is covered to the bosom, the second bare to the hips.

"Queenly Cleopatra rests back against her chair in meditative ease, leaning her cheek against one hand, whose elbow the rails of the seat sustain; the other is outstretched upon her knee, nipping its forefinger upon the thumb thoughtfully, as though some firm wilful purpose filled her brain, as it seems to set these luxurious features to a smile as if the whole woman 'would.' Upon her head is the coif, bearing in front the mystic *uræus,* or twining basilisk of sovereignty, while from its sides depend the wide Egyptian lappels, or wings, that fall upon her shoulders. The *Sibylla Libyca* has crossed her knees—an action universally held among the ancients as indicative of reticence or secrecy and of power to bind. A secret-looking dame she is, in the full-bloom proportions of ripe womanhood, wherein choosing to place his figure the sculptor has deftly gone between the disputed point—whether these women were blooming and wise in youth, or deeply furrowed with age and burdened with the knowledge of centuries. Her forward elbow is propped upon one knee; and to keep her secret closer, for this Libyan woman

is the closest of all the sibyls, she rests her shut mouth upon one closed palm, as if holding the African mystery deep in the brooding brain that looks out through mournful, warning eyes, seeing under the white shade of the strange-horned (Ammonite) crest that bears the mystery of the Tetragrammaton upon its upturned front. Over her full bosom, mother of myriads as she was, hangs the same symbol. Her face has a Nubian cast, her hair wavy and plaited, as is meet."

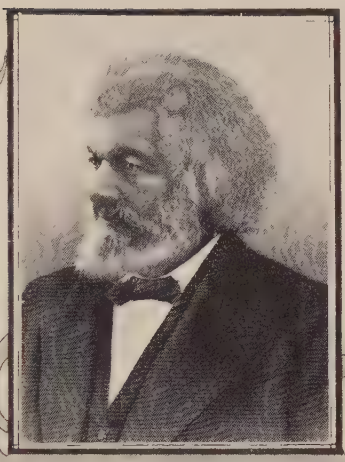
Another critic says:

"The mission of the Sibyl . . . is not to lure men on to destruction—she is the custodian of secrets, the secrets of Africa and the African race. And how close she keeps them, with her locked lower limbs, her one hand pressing her chin as if to keep in the torrent of words that threatens to burst forth, while the other grasps a scroll covered with strange characters, which would recall much could we be permitted to decipher it."

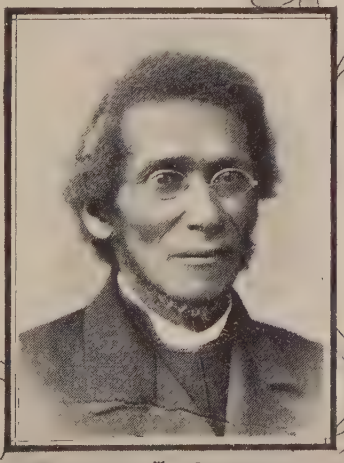
As such, Art immortalizes the ideals which *Sojourner Truth* suggested to America's greatest author-sculptor, W. W. Story, whose Libyan Sibyl he considered his best work.[3]

[3] "Story and his Friends," by Henry James, Vol. II, p. 70.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON



FREDERICK DOUGLASS



DANIEL A. PAYNE

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

XXII

DANIEL A. PAYNE

Daniel A. Payne, eminent as a pioneer educator, advocate for an educated and consecrated ministry, first president of a Negro college and bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born of London and Martha Payne, both free, in Charleston, South Carolina, February 24, 1811. The father was a native of Virginia, kidnapped to South Carolina, but subsequently ransomed. Like Samuel of old the parents dedicated their infant child to the service in which he grew to be so conspicuous and so distinguished. Before the lad was ten, they died and Daniel was cared for by a relative. The father had taught his son his alphabet and easy words of one syllable before he was five years old. The first school in which he was a pupil was that of the Miner's Moralist Society, established as early as 1803 by seven free colored men, for the education of orphan or indigent colored children. Young Payne remained here for two years. The "Columbian Orator," a self-interpreting Bible, and the "Scottish Chiefs" were favorite books.

He served a shoemaker's apprenticeship a few months, but spent four years at carpenter's trade and nine months with a tailor. He early manifested a love for study. At this tender age he was anxious to learn both French and Latin and he was determined to study them without a teacher. When his day's work was at an end he would study until near midnight and, rising early the next morning, would be at his books from four to six. His early religious impressions were lasting. He joined church on probation at fifteen and was converted at eighteen.

Three years later he began a day school with three pupils from whom he received fifty cents each. At night he taught three adult slaves, realizing three dollars a month. The next year he had a plain building erected in which he taught until April, 1835. For fifty years this building stood a witness of the labors of his early manhood. Young Payne taught himself geography and six months after, having meanwhile obtained an atlas, he was constructing maps and teaching these subjects in his school. He had not as yet known anything of English grammar, but he mastered Murray's Primary Grammar after going over it thoroughly three times. He then added this study to the course of his school. The subjects of botany, chemistry, natural philosophy and astronomy next engaged his attention. He studied not only the best books, but made original investigations. While zealously pursuing his scientific studies, his ambition for the languages did not abate. The discipline acquired in his mastery of English grammar showed itself, for three days after entering upon the study of Greek he was able to translate the first chapter of Matthew into English. Latin and French were next taken up with the same success.

His method of the study of zoology is thus illustrated:

"I bought a live alligator and made one of my pupils provoke him to bite, and whenever he opened his mouth I discharged a load of shot from a small pistol down his throat. As soon as he was stunned I threw him on his back and cut his throat, ripped open his chest, hung him up and studied his viscera till they ceased to move."

Such enthusiasm on the part of the teacher was sure to inspire the pupils, and the popularity of his school overcame all prejudices and doubts as to his ability as an instructor.

Such investigations led some of his students into the country to buy a live moccasin snake. There they met the owners of the slaves from whom the snake was to be obtained. Their curiosity was aroused, inquiry followed and the discovery was made that

Payne's pupils in Charleston were engaged in such studies and with such thoroughness that great danger to slavery was inevitable. This was in the early part of 1834. That winter the legislature passed a rigid law forbidding the continuance of any schools whatever for colored children. Payne's work in Charleston was thus brought to an untimely end, and May 9, 1835, after a sad parting from the city of his birth and the burial place of his parents and friends, he turned his face northward.

On his arrival in New York he called on Rev. Peter Williams, the Rector of St. Philip's P. E. Church. While there "a lad of dark complexion entered, with step quick and elastic, eyes beaming with the light of superior intellect and an aspect of one possessed with more than ordinary mental power." This youth was Alexander Crummell.

It was the opinion and advice of those to whom young Payne had brought letters of commendation that he should engage in the work of the ministry. With this purpose he went as advised to the Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Lutheran Seminary, matriculated as a student, and remained for two years. While there he cut wood, blacked and cleaned boots and shoes, acted as barber and did other work to help himself along.

Owing to a prejudice against educated ministers which at that time existed in the A. M. E. Church, he did not at first enter that denomination, but was licensed in 1837, and in 1839 ordained, by the Franklin Synod of the Lutheran Church. There was demand for his services; he was immediately invited to serve a Presbyterian church in East Troy, N. Y., and he received another invitation from the Second Colored Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. He accepted the former. He was also offered three hundred dollars a year and traveling expenses as agent of the American Anti-slavery Society, but bitterly opposed as he was to slavery, he declined the offer because it was not in harmony with his work as a preacher pure and simple.

The same earnestness and energy which he had displayed in

the schoolroom, he carried into the pulpit. So rigorous were his utterances that he soon ruptured the left gland of his throat and lost the use of his voice for about a year. He was compelled to take a slate and pencil with him to carry on the slightest conversation. But though he could not preach, Payne was not idle. In 1840 he opened a private school in Philadelphia, beginning, as in Charleston, with three pupils and taught with such success that before giving it up in 1843 he had enrolled sixty pupils. In the winter of 1841 he joined the Bethel A. M. E. Church of that city and was received in the Philadelphia Conference of the same denomination as a local preacher in 1842. The next year he was received into full membership and joined the traveling ministry.

Rev. Payne's first appointment was Israel Bethel (A. M. E. Church) in Washington, D. C., then located on South Capitol Street, immediately south of the Capitol. Before he could begin his work, he had to give a bond of $1,000.[1] As the church was too poor to put seats in the basement, his apprenticeship as carpenter in Charleston became of service, for he pulled off his coat and with a plane and other carpenter's tools constructed the pews for the basement of the church.

His first year was a very active one. Besides his labors in the pulpit he organized the first colored pastors' association in the District of Columbia, possibly in the country, though there were only two other members besides himself, Rev. John F. Cook, organizer of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Levi Collins. The next year, 1844, he attended the General Conference, the legislative body of the church, and as Chairman of the Committee on Education secured the adoption, though not without stubborn opposition, of a course of studies for young preachers. He also laid the foundation for the Home

[1] Slavery in the District of Columbia—Tremain, also Special Report U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1870; Ordinance supplementary to that of 1827, October 29, 1836.

and Foreign Mission Society. After two years at Washington during which he published *Education of the Ministry*—the development of letters originally contributed by him when at Baltimore to a monthly magazine the organ of the A. M. E. Church—he went to Baltimore where he remained five years. It is notable among other things that Rev. Payne delivered a lecture on *Benjamin Banneker* and personally located the burial place of the black astronomer [2] beneath two tulip trees so grown as to seem one and had planned a fitting design for a monument to mark Banneker's last resting place.

The interest which Rev. Payne manifested in the cause of education of the young soon found him as at Philadelphia, at the head of a school. This it was not his original purpose to do, but he yielded to the urgent request of one of his members by consenting to instruct her elder children in his private study; but before a year had passed there were fifty children under his instruction. Such was the growth and development of this school that it fixed his stay in Baltimore two years beyond the time which a preacher could under the rules and regulation of his denomination remain in one city.

As an example of his energy and executive ability a brief statement of the work accomplished by him seems incredible. He rose daily at five o'clock, took his regular morning walk, studied from six to nine, was in the schoolroom from nine to two P. M., after which he made five to ten pastoral visits—he had a membership from one thousand to fifteen hundred—and retired regularly at ten o'clock. Bethel, Ebenezer and Union Bethel were his ministerial charges.

The Evangelical Alliance was organized in London in 1846 and Rev. Payne was sent as a delegate by his church. A stormy voyage compelled his return to America, but there are storms on land as well as on sea, and he was the victim of one of the former. A church mob that was opposed to his straightfor-

[2] Supra, Banneker.

ward, upright manner, and his opposition to the noisy worship of those times, led to his refusal by Ebenezer Church as pastor. A special reason was because he lived in too grand style and would not take tea with them. But this refusal gave him opportunity to render a most invaluable service for the entire connection. The General Conference of 1848 had appointed him to write the history of the connection, so he visited every church in all the Eastern and Western States, collecting material for the work—going as far South as New Orleans and even extending his journey through the villages, towns and cities of Canada, meanwhile supporting himself by delivering lectures on education. He had about completed the tour when the General Conference of 1852 drew nigh. At this Conference he was, against his opposition, elected a bishop, which must be regarded as the most important step up to that time taken by the growing church. When the outspoken opposition to educated preachers is considered, and the very few there were who had even elementary qualifications, the election of a man of Bishop Payne's capabilities can only be accounted for on the ground that it was providential.

With his election and that of his colleague, Rev. Willis Nazrey, there were three bishops. The work was divided between them and the first bishops' council was held.

Bishop Payne was a most active and energetic worker in the first twelve years of his service in this higher office. He traveled far and wide—to New Orleans, St. Louis and Washington, all slave territory and at peril to his safety. He also visited Canada, the home of thousands of fugitive slaves. At several of these places he lectured the people on education and established literary and historical associations to improve the ministry and people. During these years he also organized mothers' associations thereby showing his interest in home training.

The Civil War came on apace, and in 1862 he was in Washington where he consulted with such statesmen as Elihu B. Wash-

burne, the friend of General U. S. Grant, Carl Schurz, the brilliant orator, Charles Sumner, the statesman, and more than once saw President Lincoln.

The following in Bishop Payne's own words gives what took place at one of these interviews: "The following Monday night, April 14, 1862, I called on President Lincoln to know if he intended to sign the bill of emancipation and thereby exterminate slavery in the District of Columbia. Having been previously informed of my intention to interview him, and having on my arrival at the White House sent in my card, he met me at the door of the room in which he and Senator Washburne were conversing. Taking me by the hand, he said: 'Bishop Payne, of the African M. E. Church?' I answered in the affirmative; so with my hand in his he led me to the fireplace, introduced me to Senator Washburne, and seated me in an arm chair between himself and the Senator. At that moment Senator Carl Schurz entered the room and seated himself on the right of Senator Washburne. . . . I said: 'I am here to learn whether or not you intend to sign the bill of emancipation?' He answered and said: 'There was a company of gentlemen here today requesting me by no means to sign it.' To which Senator Carl Schurz replied: 'But, Mr. President, there will be a committee to beg that you fail not to sign it, for all Europe is looking to see that you fail not.' Then said I: 'Mr. President, you will remember that on the eve of your departure from Springfield, Illinois, you begged the citizens of the Republic to pray for you.' He said: 'Yes.' Said I: 'From that moment we, the colored citizens of the Republic, have been praying, "O Lord, just as Thou didst cause the throne of David to wax stronger and stronger, while that of Saul should wax weaker and weaker, so we beseech Thee cause the power at Washington to grow stronger and stronger, while that at Richmond shall grow weaker and weaker."' Slightly bending his head, the President said: 'Well, I must believe that God has led me

thus far; for I am conscious that I never would have accomplished what has been done, if He had not been with me to counsel and to shield.' But, neither Carl Schurz nor I could induce him to say 'Yes' or 'No' to our direct question."

The most important act, however, of Bishop Payne was his purchase, March 10, 1863, of Wilberforce University, an institution started in 1856 by the Methodist Episcopal Church at Xenia, Ohio, for the instruction of colored youth. This powerful religious body found such an undertaking far beyond their disposition to maintain. What to do with this was a most serious problem. It was burdened with a heavy mortgage which those in charge did not feel themselves able and willing to wipe out. At a critical moment Bishop Payne bought it for the African Methodist Episcopal Church for the sum of ten thousand dollars, although he did *not have a single dollar* in his possession, the property of the A. M. E. Church, with which to make good the obligation. He thus narrates the circumstances of its purchase: "I met the trustees who urged me to purchase the property of Wilberforce for the A. M. E. Church. I begged for three months' time in which I could consult the spring conferences in order that I might secure their sanction and cooperation. But the trustees refused for the reason that the State of Ohio desired the property for one of its asylums, that the legislature then in session demanded an answer by noon on the 11th. Still I hesitated and begged for time to consult and secure the pledge of the spring conferences. Said they: 'Now or never.' Then immediately I threw myself on the strong arm of the Lord, and said: 'In the name of the Lord, I buy the property of Wilberforce for the African Methodist Episcopal Church.' The brethren (all white men) cried out, 'Amen, Amen, Amen,' then fell on their knees and prayed for my success."

United in his early effort for Wilberforce were the late Bishop James A. Shorter and Rev. John G. Mitchell. The wife of the

Some Wilberforce University Buildings.

former gave the first hundred dollars. Within three months the first payment of $2,500 was made and the title deeds were handed the three, Payne, Mitchell, and Shorter, as agents of the A. M. E. Church. Bishop Payne was elected to its presidency, which made him the first Negro college president in the United States. Within eighteen months $5,000 more of the purchase-money was paid.

By a remarkable coincidence, on the day when the Nation was mourning the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, April 15, 1865, the main building was destroyed by fire, believed to be the work of an incendiary. Bishop Payne was then in Baltimore holding a conference.

In the sixteen years in which the bishop was president of Wilberforce his work was tremendous. As bishop he exacted of all applicants for the ministry that they should give considerable time to systematic study and lead exemplary lives; as an educator in this critical period, the first ten years of the Negro after emancipation and through the Reconstruction Period, he trained scores of young men and women to usefulness, both in the pulpit and the schoolroom. They and the result of their work are found all over the country.

Bishop Payne had frequently visited President Lincoln during the last two years of the Civil War. He had also visited Andrew Johnson while governor of Tennessee and among others had looked in the large schools for freedmen under the instruction of white teachers from New England and the West at different points of the South. Such a school was on the plantation of former Governor Henry A. Wise in Princess Anne County, near Norfolk, Va. But the greatest satisfaction of all was his return to Charleston, South Carolina, reaching there *exactly thirty years to the day and hour from that at which he was forced to leave it by the laws of the State.* He found a few old friends, preached with eloquence to the sons and daughters of those who knew him as their wonderful teacher of a gener-

ation past, but the crowning work of this visit was the organization of the South Carolina Conference, May 15, 1865. From this as a center the A. M. E. Church was carried into North Carolina, to the remotest corner of the Palmetto State, and throughout Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

Service similar to that rendered by him twenty years before throughout the North and West, Bishop Payne now performed in the South. Bright-eyed boys and girls were encouraged through his influence to pursue their studies to the point where as teachers or preachers they could help lift burdens of ignorance and immorality in the way of the elevation and progress of their race.

He twice visited Europe. In 1867, going out in the same steamer with William Lloyd Garrison, the American, and George Thompson, the English abolitionist. Both in England and France he received much social attention. Fourteen years later he was delegate to the First Ecumenical Conference of the Methodist Church, a world-wide federation that met in London, where his dignified, refined and consecrated manner, added to his splendid abilities, gave a very high place to the work of the A. M. E. Church. On the 17th of September, 1881, he presided over this body.

When he resigned the active management of the university he gave his principal energies to his religious work and his literary labors. Among his published works are, "Domestic Education," "Poems," "Education of the Ministry," "A. M. E. Semi-Centenary," "Recollections of Seventy Years" and "History of the A. M. E. Church."

The literary associations connected with the A. M. E. Churches throughout the country and indirectly the lyceums of other denominations is a part of the fruitage of the seed sown by Bishop Payne in his early years.

During the last ten years of his life his work as a bishop was comparatively nominal, as he gave much of his time to literary

work and spent his winters in Jacksonville, Florida. In no organization, not strictly denominational, was he more successful than in the establishment and fostering care of the Bethel Literary Association at the National Capital, whose reputation is world-wide.

In the World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893, Bishop Payne was a most striking figure. No one commanded more respect. At the celebration of the liberties of the American Continent, held September 22, the bishop presided, a fitting recognition of his eminence as a prelate and a representative of the "despised race" whose liberties had been but lately enlarged.

The bishop shortly afterwards left Chicago for his home at Wilberforce where he made his usual preparation for his fall and winter sojourn in Florida, but November 20, the day before the time fixed for his departure for Jacksonville, his spirit took its flight.

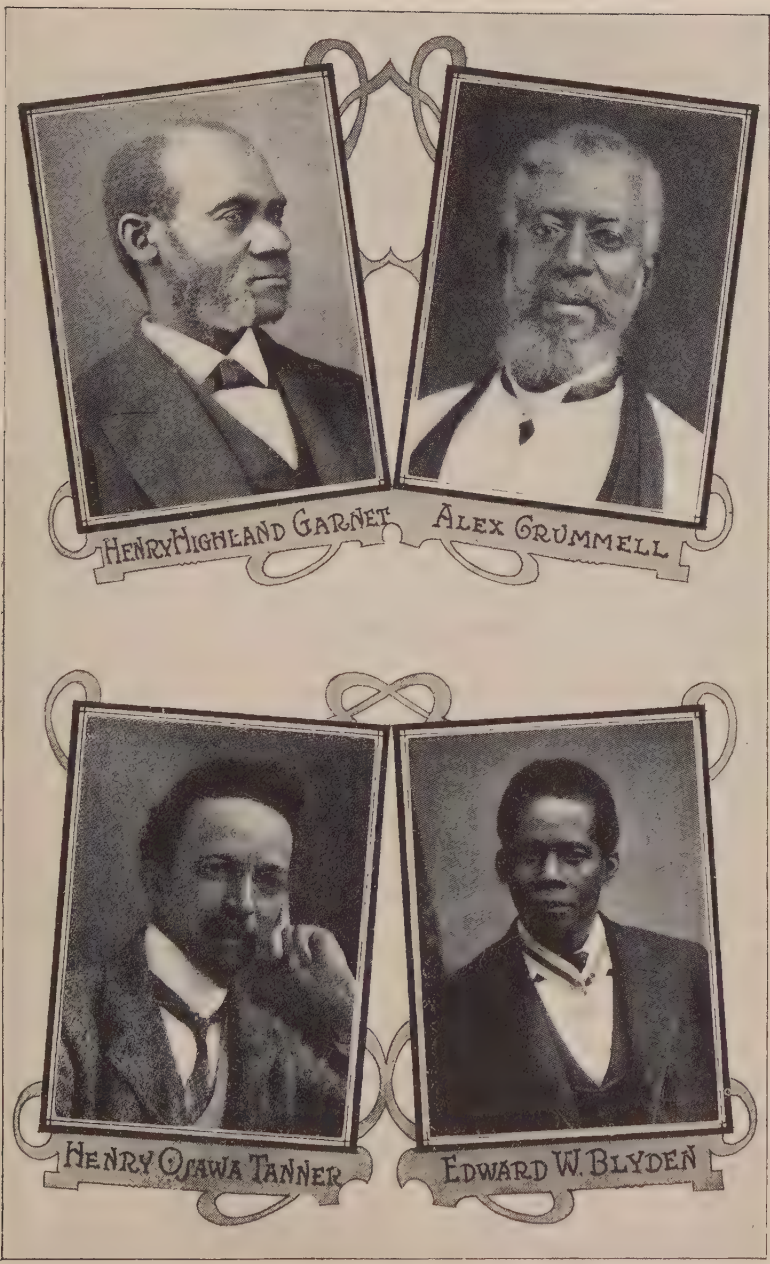
The appearance of Bishop Payne was that of chronic invalidism; thin almost to emaciation, below the average height; features sharp; keen, penetrating eyes; voice, sharp and shrill, but with an ample forehead indicating intellectual strength and refinement.

XXIII

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET

The Convention Movement developed a leadership among the American Negroes that exerted a wide influence upon the race throughout the North and on the Nation. Among the foremost stands Henry Highland Garnet, whose address to the slaves of the country, while it stirred the Convention held in 1843, at Buffalo, to a degree of enthusiasm unequaled by any other single deliverance in the thirty years of the Movement, nevertheless was so bold and aggressive that the Convention actually refused to adopt it. They feared the consequences of giving sanction to so revolutionary and radical a doctrine. Garnet, however, was not playing to the galleries. The same defiant, militant spirit exhibited when he learned on his return to New York fourteen years before, that slaveholders from Maryland, tracing the flight of the family to New York had dared to attempt to apprehend, seize and return them to slavery; the spirit which had actually taken the offensive against the New Hampshire mob that had closed the Academy at Canaan in which he, Alexander Crummell and Thomas S. Sidney were students—this spirit before the chosen delegates of the freemen of the North threw down the gage to slaveholding America. It was a command for the slaves to rise in their might and strike a blow for freedom. Though the Convention refused to adopt the address, it was nevertheless published. John Brown, who sixteen years later led the insurrection at Harper's Ferry, published and circulated Garnet's address at his own expense.

No extract from this address can give a clear idea of its logic,


HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET
ALEX GRUMMELL
HENRY OSAWA TANNER
EDWARD W. BLYDEN

its aptness of statement, its indignant protest against slavery, its eloquence. It deserves to be printed and preserved as a document of like character as Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence.

"Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this and the days of slavery are numbered. You can not be more oppressed than you have been. You can not suffer greater cruelties than you have already. *Rather die freemen than live to be slaves.* Remember that you are four millions! It is in your power so to torment the God-cursed slaveholder that they will be glad to let you go free. If the scale was turned, and black men were the masters and white men the slaves, every destructive agent and element would be employed to lay his oppressor low."

"Rather die freemen than live to be slaves," the keynote of the address was more than a mild protest against the pro-slavery prosecutions to which freemen of color were subjected throughout the North seventy years ago.

Garnet was born December 23, 1815, at New Market, Kent County, Maryland. At the early age of ten the family left by the Underground Railroad for the North and stopped in New York City. Here he availed himself of the meager educational advantages which the metropolis gave colored youth. Aspiring for higher education, he went first in vain to New Hampshire as indicated and subsequently to Oneida Institute, Whitesboro, New York, of which Beriah Green, a very capable educator, was principal. In 1840 he graduated and shortly afterward entered the Presbyterian Ministry, founded a Presbyterian Church at Troy, New York, meanwhile editing a weekly newspaper called *The Clarion.*

The school attended by Garnet included among other boys, Ira Aldridge, who became the great actor, Patrick H. Reason, the splendid engraver, who twenty-five years afterwards engraved

the massive coffin plate of Daniel Webster, his brother, Prof. Charles L. Reason, Rev. Alexander Crummell, Dr. James McCune Smith and Samuel Ringgold Ward, "the ablest thinker on his legs."

Garnet was a natural born orator. He had keen wit, was fond of the poets, possessed a lively imagination, was quick at repartee and was endowed with a sympathetic voice that alike reached the child of tender years, the man in his prime and those past the meridian. He was also combative. Few were the men at that time who would dare to meet him in debate before an audience. On the platform in behalf of the slave, or in the pulpit as a champion of Christianity, his voice once heard echoed and reëchoed throughout the chambers of memory, carrying its message and fulfilling its mission.

In the darkest hour of the anti-slavery struggle, from 1855 to 1864, and after the Civil War, he was in charge of Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City, where his voice was heard not only by his congregation but his sermons and addresses reported in the press of that city, found their way throughout the country. For a time he was pastor of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C., a position now filled by Rev. F. J. Grimké. Here Members of Congress and other distinguished men in the war time listened to his voice. After the adoption by Congress of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, at the request of Representatives, the Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Rev. William H. Channing, extended to Dr. Garnet an invitation to preach in the House of Representatives a sermon in memorial of the triumph of the Union Army and the deliverance of the country from chattel slavery. The contrast was the more remarkable that no colored person was permitted to have access to the Capitol grounds. Dr. Garnet rose to the occasion. A memorial volume was published with a biographical sketch by Dr. James A. McCune Smith of New York, the foremost literary Negro of that period.

From the National Capital he went to Avery College, Allegheny, Pennsylvania, as its president, but although he was a great admirer of youth, the position of college president was not to his taste and he returned to his old pulpit in New York.

The passage of the Fifteenth Amendment which removed the restriction against the use of the elective franchise, gave to the Negro in the North a potential political influence, and power to men who could sway the multitude by their eloquence and oratory. Henry Highland Garnet in addition to being the magnetic pulpit orator became in emergencies the popular political leader. In 1872 Frederick Douglass was chosen elector in the Presidential canvass that reëlected Ulysses S. Grant as President, and in 1880 when James A. Garfield was chosen, the Empire State was honored in the nomination and confirmation of Henry Highland Garnet, as Minister Resident and Consul General to Liberia. He was now sixty-six years old and his personal friends advised against the acceptance of the new position, which required residence in a treacherous and unhealthy climate, but worn out by long, unrequited service in behalf of his people, broken in health, with his domestic circle no longer the ideal home of his prime, Garnet gladly accepted the honor. The author recalls this language from Garnet's lips expressed during a dinner tendered him during his last visit to the Capital: "Oh, Alexander," addressing his host, Dr. Crummell, "if I can just reach the land of my forefathers and with my feet press her soil, I shall be content to die." This was a prophecy shortly fulfilled. Dr. Garnet reached Monrovia late in the year 1881, and before two months had passed away, his proud spirit was released. He was given a public funeral, honors befitting his high station were given his remains. Edward W. Blyden who had known him for two decades, delivered the eulogy.

XXIV

ALEXANDER CRUMMELL

Alexander Crummell was born in New York City March 3, 1819. His father, Boston Crummell, was the son of a Timanee Chief in West Africa, and his mother and her ancestors for several generations were free New Yorkers. One of his earliest recollections was the sight of the landing in New York of several refugees who had escaped in an open boat from Southampton County, Virginia, the scene of the Nat Turner Insurrection. They disappeared almost as suddenly as they came.

Among his companions at a school established by Quakers were Henry Highland Garnet and Thomas S. Sidney, who like himself were bent on obtaining an education beyond the meager facilities offered in the public schools. They went in 1835 to Canaan, New Hampshire, where an academy had been opened by some abolitionists, without restriction as to race or sex. Though welcomed by the principal, the ruling sentiment of the neighborhood was against such an institution for the higher education of Negroes. On the fourth of July, Crummell, Garnet and Sidney took part as speakers at the National Holiday Celebration. This added fuel to the smoldering flame, and in the next month, August, a mob assembled and with the aid of ninety-five yoke of oxen and two days' hard labor, removed the academy from its site to a swamp.

When the young lads were leaving the community the mob celebrated their departure by a salute of many guns from an old field piece. At Hanover, New Hampshire, the seat of Dartmouth College, and only five miles from Canaan, these three began their

journey homeward, which occupied a day and a night, across the border of the State, through Vermont to Albany, New York, on the top of a stage. There was no railroad communication and colored travelers were not permitted to ride inside.

The next year the three entered Oneida Institute at which Rev. Beriah Green was president where young Crummell remained three years.

In 1839 he applied for admission to the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church at New York as a candidate for holy orders on the recommendation of his rector, Rev. Peter Williams of St. Philip's Church, in that city. Notwithstanding the rules of the Seminary provided for the admission of any candidate who presented himself thus recommended, the application was referred to the trustees and their committee reported that "having deliberately considered the said petition they are of opinion that it ought not to be granted." This report was adopted. Pending action, however, Mr. Crummell was advised to withdraw his petition, but he declined to do so or to accept the private instruction by the faculty which, he was assured, they were perfectly willing to give. The convention also passed a canon prohibiting admission to one of the despised race.

He then went to Boston where he was more fortunate, for here he was ordained to the diaconate in 1842 by Bishop Griswold. Two years later, after due preparation under Dr. A. H. Vinton of Providence, Rhode Island, he was ordained priest by Bishop Lee of Delaware at St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, December, 1844, and given work. But owing to poverty and ill health his lot was a hard one. He conducted a private school for boys, which though patronized by some of the best citizens did not yield him adequate support.

Failing to obtain the necessary financial support for his missionary work and advised by friends, he went to England. There he was cordially received; he preached throughout England and

laid the foundation for friendship with many representative citizens that continued through his life. In 1851 he entered Queen's College, Cambridge University, from which he took his A. B. degree in 1853. His purpose was then to return to America and renew his ministerial work, but owing to failing health he went to Africa and there began his missionary career.

For twenty years he labored both as clergyman and educator, visiting different parts of Liberia and Sierra Leone, delivering speeches and addresses without taking any active part in politics.

During this time he made two visits to the United States, returning here permanently in 1873 when he was put in charge of the St. Mary's P. E. Mission in Washington. He took hold of the work with such energy and zeal that at once a flourishing congregation was built up and the St. Luke's P. E. Church subsequently erected. During his nearly twenty-two years of service, Dr. Crummell made extensive trips to the leading cities of the country, North, South, and West, delivering sermons, lectures and addresses to colleges and religious conventions on a variety of topics, attracting large and interested audiences by his charm of manner, his choice diction, his broad scholarship, his wide range of information and his splendid optimism.

One of his most striking traits was the championship of the cause of his race, his readiness and eagerness to defend it from vicious assaults. The topics for his popular addresses were suggested by some racial weakness, his exalted ideals, or in opposition to some popular fallacy. His productions, from his early days, when not thirty he delivered in New York the eulogy on Thomas Clarkson, the great English abolitionist, throughout his career in Liberia and since his return from abroad to round out his activities here, stamp him as thinker, ripe scholar, able advocate and eloquent defender. While a citizen of Liberia he published in 1862 "The Future of Africa," a volume of ten addresses sermons and lectures, which was well received in America, Eng-

land and Africa. This was followed in 1882 by "The Greatness of Christ and Other Sermons," a book of three hundred and fifty-two pages, published in response to the request of many literary friends. It also met with a large sale, but as it did not include many secular addresses of surpassing excellence, another work "Africa and America" of four hundred and sixty-six pages followed in 1891.

In 1882 Rev. J. L. Tucker, D.D., a well-known white Protestant Episcopal clergyman of Mississippi, made a most libelous attack on the Negro race before the Church Congress of that denomination at Richmond, Virginia. The purpose of this attack was to close all Northern and Negro agencies for the promotion of Church work at the South. To this Dr. Crummell replied at length in a pamphlet entitled "A Defence of the Negro Race in America," with such directness, crushing logic and ability that its publication created a sensation equal to Dr. Tucker's indictment, which it completely demolished. It may be pertinent to add that Dr. Tucker never subsequently entered the lists, especially against the Negro. With "The Black Woman of the South; Her Neglects and Her Needs," as his theme, Dr. Crummell delivered a most remarkable address before the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, August 15, 1883, and repeated it at various other places throughout the country. It had a circulation of 500,000 copies and brought more than a million of dollars into the coffers of that society for which it was specifically prepared.

Dr. Crummell was for many years president of the Colored Ministers' Union of Washington, an undenominational organization and a member of the "Commission for Church Work Among Colored People." But his latest and by many considered the crowning work of his life was the founding by him, March 5, 1897, of the American Negro Academy, "an organization of authors, scholars, artists, and those distinguished in other walks of life; men of African descent, for the promotion of let-

ters, science and art; for the promotion of scholarly work, the aiding of youth of genius in the attainment of the higher culture at home and abroad and the gathering into its archives of valuable data." A brief extract from his inaugural address will best give the idea of the scope of this institution and at the same time his faith in the future of his race in the United States.

"What then, it may be asked, is the special undertaking we have before us, in this Academy? My answer is the civilization of the Negro race in the United States, by the scientific processes of literature, art, and philosophy, through the agency of the cultured men of this same Negro race. And here, let me say, that the special race problem of the Negro in the United States is his civilization.

"I doubt if there is a man in this presence who has a higher conception of Negro capacity than your speaker; and this of itself, precludes the idea, on my part, of race disparagement. But, it seems manifest to me that, as a race in this land, we have no art; we have no science; we have no philosophy; we have no scholarship. Individuals we have in each of these lines; but mere individuality cannot be recognized as the aggregation of a family, a nation, or a race; or, as the interpretation of any of them. And until we attain the rôle of civilization, we can not stand up and hold our place in the world of culture and enlightenment. And the forfeiture of such a place means despite, inferiority, repulsion, drudgery, poverty, and ultimate death! Now, gentlemen, for the creation of a complete and rounded man, you need the impress and the molding of the highest arts. But how much more so for the realizing of a true and lofty *race* of men. What is true of a man is deeply true of a people. The special need in such a case is the force and application of the highest arts; not mere mechanism; not mere machinery; not mere handicraft; not the mere grasp on material things; not mere temporal ambitions. These are but incidents; important indeed, but pertaining mainly to man's material needs, and to

the feeding of the body. And the incidental in life is incapable of feeding the living soul. For "man cannot live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And civilization is the *secondary* word of God, given for the nourishment of humanity.

"To make *men* you need civilization; and what I mean by civilization is the action of exalted forces, both of God and man. For manhood is the most majestic thing in God's creation; and hence the demand for the very highest art in the shaping and molding of human souls.

"What is the great difficulty with the black race, in this era, in this land? It is that both within their ranks, and external to themselves, by large schools of thought interested in them, material ideas in divers forms are made prominent, as the master-need of the race, and as the surest way to success. Men are constantly dogmatizing theories of sense and matter as the salvable hope of the race. Some of our leaders and teachers boldly declare, now, that *property* is the source of power; and then, that *money* is the thing which commands respect. At one time it is *official position* which is the masterful influence in the elevation of the race; at another, men are disposed to fall back upon *blood* and *lineage,* as the root (source) of power and progress.

"Blind men! For they fail to see that neither property, nor money, nor station, nor office, nor lineage, are fixed factors, in so large a thing as the destiny of man; that they are not vitalizing qualities in the changeless hopes of humanity. The greatness of peoples springs from their ability to grasp the grand conceptions of being. It is the absorption of a people, of a nation, of a race, in large majestic and abiding things which lifts them up to the skies. These once apprehended, all the minor details of life follow in their proper places, and spread abroad in the details and the comfort of practicality. But until these gifts of a lofty civilization are secured, men are sure to remain low, debased and groveling."

Of the many occasions which brought to his feet the culture of the Capital, none will be longer remembered than when he celebrated, December, 1894, the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as a priest in the Episcopal Church. It was thus described by an occasional correspondent[1] in the *New York Age*. "Sunday morning witnessed a scene as replete with interest to all colored Episcopalians as it should be to Christians regardless of denominational or racial ties. Rev. Alexander Crummell, D.D., rector of St. Luke's P. E. Church of this city celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his consecration to the priesthood of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country. The church was filled by a congregation in which representatives from all the different denominations of our city could be found, and such men as Hon. Frederick Douglass, C. H. J. Taylor, H. C. C. Astwood, John F. Cook, members of the faculty of Howard University, principals and subordinate teachers of our public schools were numbered among the worshipers.

"The sermon which followed held entranced the entire congregation from its beginning to the end. It was based on Leviticus xxv, 10: 'And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year. It shall be a year of jubilee to you.' The topic selected was 'The Lights and Shadows of a Ministry of a Half a Century.' Three priests of color had antedated him in this country, Absalom Jones of Philadelphia, Peter Williams of New York, and William Levering of Baltimore, and all had been ordained on condition that they would never apply for membership in their dioceses.

"The lessons which the eloquent divine drew from this half-century of service convinced him of two facts thus summarized: First, that the age of chivalry had not gone; that great men and true, now as in the past, spring up to aid a worthy cause or succor an honestly deserving, struggling individual; next, that the providence of God has not deserted the Negro, but that there need be no doubt of the manifestations of his power.

[1] The author.

"Conspicuous among these who championed the cause of the right of a Negro to be admitted to holy orders at the time of Dr. Crummell's application were Honorable William Jay, John Jay, Charles King, Manton Eastburn, George W. Doane of New Jersey, Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, Rev. Thomas M. Clark, Alexander Vintin and Rev. William Croswell, all of whom became distinguished in their communion. Dr. Whittingham, dean of the General Theological Seminary at the time and whose counsels first led Dr. Crummell to apply for holy orders, by a singular coincidence was the Bishop of Maryland on Dr. Crummell's return to Washington in 1873."

Dr. Crummell was easily the ripest literary scholar, the writer of the most graceful and faultless English and the most brilliant conversationalist the race has produced in this country. More than this, his life was without reproach. In his manner he was austere, fearless and dignified, yet he was as easy to approach as a child. Tall, erect, majestic and noble in his carriage, he was a distinguished man in any social gathering, and on the public highway; his natural stride, and his commanding appearance gave him a most striking individuality, pointing him out in any assemblage. Unlike many of the representative men of his race gathered unto their fathers, the reputation and influence of Alexander Crummell will be greater with each revolving year.

As an instance of his mental vigor almost up to the last, in a letter to the author written just five weeks before his death, are these optimistic and prophetic words: "I don't believe the Negro is going to the devil. That disease and penury are carrying off a large contingent, is doubtless true. This is the inevitable incident in all revolutions of society; and our change of condition is a revolution, a long continued revolution just as the French Revolution of '98 is still on, and still producing its results and influences. But neither one of these revolutions is death. Fully one-third of our people are going up—vitally, industrially, religiously and monetarily. Another third are at a

standstill, and still another third are going rapidly to destruction, through unthrift, dissipation, disease and deviltry and it is a shame on our ministers and churches that they are allowed to go to ruin."

In his last year, as stated in a letter to his friend, J. E. Bruce, he said: "I work daily six to seven hours at my desk when I am able to write. But time tells on me, and at times I have to sit and do nothing and wait upon the Lord. Some day ere long He will call me away; but I trust through Jesus, my Lord and King, to be numbered with the just."

On his return from Europe which he visited in 1897 to witness the Queen's Diamond Jubilee he wrote the following to the same friend:

"I am inclined to think we have a severe battle before us . . . I have one or two things I am thinking of doing, of which more anon; but I shan't be surprised if you laugh in your sleeve at an old man, nigh four score, projecting new work. I can't help it. Work is life. Nevertheless, not a day passes in which I do not call to remembrance the fact that I am right on the threshold of eternity; and strive to open my eyes to behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world."

The next year, September 10, 1898, while sojourning at Point Pleasant, New Jersey, he passed away.

His last days were calm and peaceful. Though physically weak, he dictated within a few hours of his demise, without a break in the connection, a letter to Paul Laurence Dunbar on the philosophy of poetry, also one to a well-known clergyman presaging the outcome of the debate on divorce in the Triennial Episcopal Convention held the next month at Washington.

XXV

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

FREDERICK DOUGLASS stands easily the foremost American of Negro descent, during the nineteenth century. His career is typical of the history of the race in the times in which he lived. Other men may have excelled him in some special activities, but he stands preëminent in the estimate of the American people and of the world.

He was born in an out-of-the-way plantation on the eastern shore of Maryland, far from any large town and city and at a time when the whole country was almost a primitive wilderness. Although like nearly all other slaves he did not know the year or time of his birth, he had good reason for believing that it was in February, 1817.

His first recollections are of his grandmother to whose care his master, Aaron Anthony, entrusted the care of the slave children in their youngest years. He remained with her until his seventh year, when after traveling twelve miles on a rough road he was left with other children—brothers, sisters and kin on the plantation of this master. Here the tenderness of his grandmother was supplanted by that of an unkind woman, Aunt Katy, who was often coarse and cruel. While here he saw at infrequent intervals his own mother, a woman of attractive personal charms and the only one of the race for miles who could read. She came a distance of twelve miles after the day's work was done to see her darling boy and then hurried back before the rising of the next day's sun.

To this mother he ran for protection one night after being

threatened by his cruel persecutor. This was the mother's last visit, for shortly afterwards she died, long, long before her son grew up to be a fine specimen of manliness and to have his name on every tongue in three continents, as the great orator and reformer.

Douglass' lot was a hard one. His supply of food was so scant that often he fought with the dog Nep for the crumbs of the table, and his clothes consisted only of a plain tow shirt. He had neither hat nor shoes.

As early as ten years of age he was sent to Baltimore where lived Hugh Auld, a brother of Thomas Auld, the husband of Lucretia, the daughter of Captain Anthony. In this new home there was a boy whom he had to watch and protect. Mrs. Auld who was not herself a slaveholder was fond of Frederick, and so assured was the slave boy of it that he asked her to teach him to read. She readily assented and was so proud of the rapid progress he was making that she told her husband of it. He was alarmed and forbade her to give him any other lessons. "It will never do to teach a 'Nigger.' It unfits him for slavery, makes him discontented and is of no benefit whatever to him." The lessons were stopped, but Frederick, who overheard the conversation, was more determined than ever to learn.

He paid fifty cents for a copy of "The Columbian Orator," a popular school book of that time. His mind and soul were fired by the literary, patriotic and philanthropic selections contained therein. They also added to his learning and fixed a strong basis for his future culture. He used the boys with whom he played to help him to write. It was at this period that the first religious impressions were deeply stamped on his mind. Charles Lawson, a religious exhorter, was a great help to him as was also Beverly Waugh, the class leader of Mrs. Auld, who subsequently became one of the bishops of the M. E. Church.

The idea of running away as a means of obtaining his freedom first came to his mind from the suggestion of two Irishmen

whom he had assisted in unloading a boat of ballast. How could he escape without a pass? How could he get a pass unless he could write? By this the idea of writing as well as reading leaped into his mind. His shrewdness gave him teachers in learning how to write. He observed the marks placed on timber in shipyards and thus in one way found out the names and form of certain letters of the alphabet. After having satisfied himself that he could make a few letters, he learned to make words and thus the way was opened. As in the matter of reading, the boys of his own age were the teachers whose aid he secured.

But the course of a slave's life may be changed at any time by incidents in the life of others. The death of Richard Anthony and his father caused Frederick's return to the Eastern Shore where it was necessary for him to be during the settlement of the estate.

Fortune favored him and Frederick fell to Lucretia Auld and his return to Baltimore removed the anxiety and fear that were on his mind. But the wheel of fortune turned. His new mistress, Lucretia, died. Two years thereafter her husband remarried and shortly after this time it was that owing to a quarrel between Thomas and Hugh Auld, Frederick was returned to the Eastern Shore.

Thomas Auld belonged to what were known as poor whites—in fact he had never owned any slaves, and these who were now his came by his marriage to the daughter of Captain Aaron Anthony. He was a severe and cruel man who determined to let his slaves feel his authority. Frederick soon experienced this; the conversion of his "master" gave the slave boy a hope that mercy would temper his dealing with the unfortunate blacks, but in this he was mistaken. Frederick's hope that he could engage in a colored Sunday school started by a white man named Wilson was shattered, for on the second Sunday they had not more than begun when a crowd of whites, among them two class leaders, his "master" Thomas at the head, armed with whips and switches

broke up their assembly. Shortly afterwards Frederick was sent to Edward Covey, whose eminence was that he was a successful breaker of stubborn young Negroes. Frederick's *experience* with Covey was by no means a bed of roses, it lay over thorns which pierce and lacerate the flesh, inflicting wounds that one carries through life. Frederick was now sixteen years old, in the possession of a strong, manly frame; he was determined, high-spirited, and longed to be free, yet he knew the power of authority and was ready to yield it a willing obedience. He had not been a field hand and therefore was not prepared to render the service such as Covey exacted. He was put to breaking in a yoke of oxen during his first month's experience. This led to his receiving injuries that threatened his life; but Covey received no explanations nor excuses. This gave the pretext he was seeking, for he proceeded to administer a very severe flogging, leaving welts on Frederick's back as large as a finger. This was followed with increasing frequency by whippings just as severe. Frederick's spirit was at last broken. He despaired of freedom, took no interest in reading or writing,—in short, he was being reduced to the level of a beast. Covey then tried another tack, and worked his hands late and early—as late as eleven and twelve o'clock at night, when he would remain out with them urging them on, either by blows or words as best suited his convenience. His method to get all the work possible out of his hands was to pretend to go to some distance, when he would suddenly reappear from behind a tree or rear his head above the banks of a ditch. Because of these characteristics he was known as the snake.

One hot day in August while threshing wheat, Frederick overcome by heat, fell, and could do no more. Covey on observing the cessation of the work and ascertaining the cause, ordered him to get back to his work. Frederick tried once or twice in vain, and failing to respond was knocked on the head and kicked most brutally in the side by Covey. This stunned him and caused the

blood to flow copiously. Frederick determined upon escape and ran away. Covey called for and pursued him, but Frederick took to the woods. After several hours in hiding Frederick went to Mr. Auld and told him of the brutal treatment he had received; but his master, instead of sympathizing with him, justified Covey and ordered Frederick to return at once.

It was Sunday morning when as he approached home he found Covey and his wife on their way to church. Frederick was agreeably surprised to find, instead of a severe countenance betokening brutality, one more in harmony with the holy day and its duties. He considered this a good omen and felt comparatively at ease. The next morning as if nothing had happened Covey ordered Frederick to perform some work which caused the lad to go to the stable. He had no more than fairly got to work at it, when he spied Covey endeavoring to catch his leg in a noose so as to hold him securely and whip him, but the boy was too alert and again ran away. In a day or so he returned when Covey once more attempted to whip him, whereupon the boy showed fight to the surprise of the slave-breaker. Covey called first on one and another of the hired slaves and even his own slave Caroline, but all refused to assist, so the struggle fierce and relentless was between the two. Frederick was more than a match for Covey. From that time to the end of the year Covey frequently threatened but made no more attempts to whip Frederick.

The next two years was spent with another master, during the last of which he was the leader of a plot to run away with other slaves. They were betrayed before attempting to run away, put in prison and released. Frederick was ordered to return once more to Baltimore where he was apprenticed by Hugh Auld to the trade of calker. Here everything went on smoothly until he was set upon and beat almost to death by four white boys, but nothing could be legally done to punish the boys because no white man could be induced to testify and no Negro's word could

be taken. During these years at Baltimore, Frederick found time to cultivate his love for music by joining a choir and exhorting in churches and Sunday schools. Mr. Douglass has frequently in public addresses and private conversation referred to this diversion. Preferable as his lot as apprentice was in Baltimore, it was not like being free, so he planned for his escape from bondage. At last, disguised as a sailor, with a certificate of protection, he succeeded in escaping from Baltimore and reaching New York. Here he was married by Rev. J. W. C. Pennington [2] to Anna Murray, a free woman of Baltimore. They did not remain in New York but continued their journey to New Bedford, Massachusetts. Upon arriving in this place Frederick found many friends, among them Mr. Nathan Johnson, who suggested as he must have some other name beside Frederick, that it be Douglass, taken from a favorite character in Scott's Lady of the Lake.

Mr. Douglass found employment in doing such odd jobs as shoveling coal, carrying out ashes, as a common laborer at work in an oil refinery and in a foundry. Race prejudice prevented his finding employment as a calker. For three years he thus supported his family and frequently on Sunday he exhorted in the meetings of the local A. M. E. Zion Church. He became a reader and regular subscriber to *The Liberator,* the paper edited by William Lloyd Garrison in the interest of the abolition cause. He approved its sentiments for they were those of his own heart.

He was invited to attend an anti-slavery convention at Nantucket, in August, 1841. To his surprise he was called on to address it. After much solicitude he reluctantly consented and did so with such earnestness that he drew from Mr. Garrison one of his most eloquent and passionate appeals. As a further result of the effect of this address, Mr. Douglass was invited to

[2] One of the most scholarly Negro clergymen of the 19th century, a man who himself had escaped from slavery in Maryland and who had secured the degree of D.D. from the university of Heidelberg, Germany.

travel as the agent of the society and to advocate its principles. He promised to undertake the work for three months only because he distrusted his ability to interest them for a longer period. But, his success was marvelous and his engagement continued.

That this speech was not only a turning point in the career of Mr. Douglass but in the anti-slavery movement, the following account taken from the "Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles" page 327, by Parker Pillsbury, an eyewitness, leaves little room to doubt: "When the young man (Douglass) closed, late in the evening though none seemed to know nor to care for the hour, Mr. Garrison rose to make the concluding address. I think he never before nor afterwards felt more profoundly the sacredness of his mission, or the importance of a crisis moment to his success. I surely never saw him more deeply, more divinely inspired. The crowded congregation had been wrought up almost to enchantment during the whole long evening, particularly by some of the utterances of the last speaker, as he turned over the terrible Apocalypse of his experiences in slavery. But Mr. Garrison was singularly serene and calm. It was well that he was so. He only asked a few simple direct questions. I can recall but a few of them, though I do remember the first and the last. The first was: 'Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or to a man?' 'A man! A man!' shouted fully five hundred voices of women and men. 'And should such a man be held a slave in a republican and Christian land?' was another question. 'No, no! never, never!' again swelled up from the same voices, like the billows of the deep. But the last was this: 'Shall such a man ever be sent back to slavery from the soil of old Massachusetts?'—this time uttered with all the power of voice of which Garrison was capable. . . . Almost the whole assembly sprang with one accord to their feet, and the walls and roof of the Athenæum seemed to shudder with the 'No, no!' loud and long-continued in the wild enthusiasm of the scene.

As soon as Garrison could be heard he snatched the acclaim, and superadded: 'No!—a thousand times no! Sooner let the lightnings of heaven blast Bunker Hill Monument till not one stone shall be left standing on another!' "

He rapidly developed into the most effective advocate of the Anti-slavery Movement that had yet appeared. By its friends he was cordially welcomed as the most valuable contribution to the movement made, but by others he was pronounced a fraud. They said he had never been a slave, for his appearance, his manner and his language were those of a man of education. He decided to convince them that he was, as he said, a fugitive from slavery, so he prepared for publication, against the advice of friends, an account of his life in slavery entitled "Douglass' Narrative."

From New England he extended his work in 1843 to New York, Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania, speaking in public halls, in churches, in public parks, wherever occasion presented itself with uniform success, so far as interest goes, but at times with great opposition. He was "rotten-egged," and set upon by a mob in Indiana, in encountering which his arm was broken.

The extension of his reputation by his protracted tour and the publication of his "Narrative" fixed his identity with the slave lad who on the eastern shore of Maryland had successfully resisted Covey and who in Baltimore, while ship-calker and exhorter, had suddenly and mysteriously taken flight by the Underground Railroad.[3] To continue traveling thus advertised as a fugitive slave whose personality was known would be to defy the law of the land and to result in his capture and return to slavery. Because of these facts and to further the Anti-slavery Cause, in 1845 he set sail for England.

On shipboard he was the victim of the same race prejudice that confronted him in America. Some Southerners on board actually threatened to throw him overboard because they were stung by

[3] See Underground Railway, Appendix.

his eloquent attacks against slavery. At this time Negroes in many parts of the North could ride only in Jim Crow cars. They were denied entrance in menageries, circuses, theaters, in many churches, and at lectures. On steamboats they were restricted to certain places, and to the top of stage-coaches.

In England Mr. Douglass felt at once the happy contrast. As in America he lectured against slavery, everywhere creating the greatest enthusiasm and enlisting on behalf of the cause, friendship and aid. Though the enemies of freedom were here as in America, with a fair field against them, he overcame them one and all. The sympathies of the English people for Mr. Douglass manifested itself in their raising a fund with which his legal freedom was effected. Mrs. Ellen Richardson and her sister, Mrs. Henry Richardson, both Quakers, conceived and managed the plan by which this was done.

He heard such orators as Cobden, Bright, Brougham, O'Connell, Disraeli, and Peel, and met Hans Christian Andersen, the great story writer, Andrew Combe, the philosopher, and the last of the great English emancipators, the venerable Thomas Clarkson. The English people were first averse to his returning to America, a country in which he would be subjected to so many humiliations and persecutions, and it was because he had determined to cast his lot among his own people that the one hundred and fifty pounds sterling was paid Thomas Auld and in addition two thousand five hundred dollars raised with which he could publish a paper devoted to the interest of his race.

In 1847 after having remained abroad for nearly two years he returned to America. After much hesitation and conference with friends, and looking over the field he decided to publish his paper in Rochester, whither he removed his family. In 1848 he published *The North Star* and afterwards *Frederick Douglass' Paper* until 1863, every issue of which was an arsenal of ammunition against slavery and proscription. His most effective work is during this period. Its circulation ran up into the thou-

sands. It was not only read throughout the North, but in the halls of Congress its power was recognized.

As an anti-slavery lecturer he was more fearless than ever before. He was not only feared and hated as an engine of destruction against the evil of slavery; but he was recognized as a thinker and orator of the highest intellectual gifts. This was seen in his frequent appearance in the lecture bureaus of New England and the Middle States and his addresses before learned societies and colleges. As a leader of his people, his voice in their conventions, which developed and drew together their representative men and women, was recognized by the wisdom of his counsel. He had a definite line of policy which he advocated with all the energy and eloquence of his nature. He was the dreaded foe of colonization, which aimed at the emigration of the entire free colored population to Africa and the West Indies as the only road by which they could enjoy the sweets of freedom and the blessings of citizenship. He advocated self-reliance and the independence of the people. He advised them to go on the farms and to teach their sons trades.[4] Long before Booker T. Washington was born he outlined a plan for an Industrial College for colored people in a letter addressed by request to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The colored convention that assembled at Rochester in 1853 enthusiastically endorsed the views of Mrs. Stowe and she went abroad and collected funds for this purpose. How much was received, what disposition was made of it, is a mystery never solved by Mrs. Stowe in her lifetime, nor by her friends since, for she was its sole custodian and to Mr. Douglass she acknowledged in a conversation with him a change in her plans, though for reasons that were never satisfactory to him, and respecting which the public were never enlightened. Had the author of "Uncle Tom" carried out this trust in the spirit in which it was entrusted to her, the Hampton and Tuskegee Normal and In-

[4] My Life and Times.—Douglass.

dustrial Institutes would have been followers of the ideas and the experience of Frederick Douglass.

When he began his work as a reformer, Frederick Douglass followed William Lloyd Garrison. But as his own powers were developed by his own active labors and the range of his information was extended by his contact with men and books, he grew to have views which differed materially from those of Garrison, especially with respect to the Constitution of the United States. Garrison believed it to be a pro-slavery document and that abolitionists should not recognize its binding force by voting in compliance with the laws thereof. Douglass, on the other hand, reading it in the light of the Declaration of Independence and its own preamble, construed it to contain no guarantees for slavery and oppression. The advocacy of these views which began to develop after the publication of *The North Star* brought him in a debate in 1849 with Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward, one of the very greatest debaters and orators the Negro race has yet produced; a man of whom it is alleged by such an authority as Daniel Webster that "he (Ward) is the ablest thinker on his legs before the American people."

A frequent visitor at the home of Mr. Douglass in Rochester was Old John Brown of Osawatomie, as he was known. They were great friends, between whom there were frequent consultations as to the best means by which slavery could receive the greatest injury. Mr. Douglass knew the plans of John Brown that were attempted at Harper's Ferry. While Mr. Douglass admired Brown, especially for his intense hatred of slavery and his willingness to make himself Freedom's martyr he could not follow Brown in the hazardous attack made on Harper's Ferry. When the outbreak came off at Harper's Ferry that memorable day in October, 1859, Mr. Douglass was in Philadelphia. In the mad excitement of the hour a requisition for his arrest was issued by Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, which but for remarkable combination of circumstances would have cut short

the career of Mr. Douglass by his arrest and execution on the scaffold with Brown and his confederates among whom were two other colored men, John Copeland and Shields Green.

Mr. Douglass went to Canada, thence once more to England, where he remained until the Harper's Ferry excitement had died out to be supplanted by the greater excitement over the presidential struggle of 1860 and impending Civil War.

The Civil War began in 1861 shortly after the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln; in fact, it had begun earlier by the seizure of the fort and navy yards of the United States authorities by the governments of the States that seceded.

There was henceforth less necessity for agitation by the abolitionists. Slavery had its main support in the States that went into the rebellion to uphold slavery. From the first Frederick Douglass advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war which was a legitimate consequence of his belief that the Constitution is an anti-slavery document. His theme was now "union and emancipation." He advocated the enlistment of the colored soldier. He came to Washington and conferred with President Lincoln who esteemed him very highly. At one time a commission as Assistant Adjutant-General in the United States Army was promised him by Secretary of War E. M. Stanton, which however Mr. Douglass never received.

Notwithstanding this personal disappointment and the attitude of the nation discriminating against colored soldiers, Mr. Douglass labored zealously in the work of colored enlistments and in upholding the Union cause. An almost forgotten speech was one at a colored mass-meeting in Philadelphia held when Lee was at Chambersburgh threatening the former city.

With the close of the war, the assassination of Lincoln and the inauguration of Andrew Johnson, the civil status of the Negro became an all important question. The abolitionists were divided as to their future policy. Garrison's influence caused the abolition of the anti-slavery society, the discontinuance of

their newspapers and the cessation of their various missions. Andrew Johnson set his face as flint against the recognition of the Negro as a citizen in the work of reconstruction. Frederick Douglass first took issue with him at the head of a delegation of colored men at the White House, February 7, 1866. The electric wires carried the news throughout the country and the issue of the elective franchise for the Negro was then first definitely raised. The meetings of the National Loyalist Convention at Philadelphia in 1866 emphasized the issue, and Frederick Douglass was no insignificant factor in that body, having been elected by the citizens of Rochester to represent that community. There was a strong protest of white Republicans especially, all over the country against his taking a seat in that convention. On his way to Philadelphia, Mr. Douglass was waited on by a delegation who advised him not to attempt to occupy a seat in the Convention; but the manly reply of Mr. Douglass announcing his decision, and exposing the weakness, inconsistency and hypocrisy of their objection, ceased their opposition. Even rumors of personal violence to him if he attempted to walk in the procession to be made through the streets of Philadelphia on the morning of the meeting of the Convention, did not daunt him. When the critical time arrived and it seemed as if he would have to walk alone, Theodore Tilton, the brilliant editor of the New York *Independent*, came forward, offered Mr. Douglass his arm and the two thus walked amid the applause of the bystanders. A most interested witness of the ovation tendered him was the daughter Amanda, of his former mistress Lucretia Auld, now married to a Mr. Sears, a coal merchant of Philadelphia.

Time brings many strange revenges. The next year, 1867, the reconstruction measures of Congress were passed. Mr. Douglass, July 4, 1867, delivered a masterly oration for the Negro's right to vote before thousands of freedmen, in the presence of both federal and ex-confederate privates and generals, at Portsmouth, Virginia. This was his first utterance in "the enemy's country,"

and the first political address in the South by a colored man of national reputation where blacks and whites were present in large numbers.

With the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870, the first direct outcome of the reconstruction act upon the status of the American Negro North and South, the active career of Mr. Douglass may be said to have nearly closed; but abundant honors were in store for him.[5] He was at the head of the *New National Era,* which his three sons, Lewis H., Frederick, Jr., and Charles R. edited and published. He occasionally contributed to its columns. He was in 1870 made secretary of a commission appointed by President Grant to San Domingo. He was nominated and confirmed as member of the Legislative Council of the District of Columbia, which he held only for a short time. He was one of the presidential electors of New York, in 1872, and was appointed the messenger of its electoral college to bear its vote for U. S. Grant to be President, to Washington. In 1874 he was elected president of the Freedmen's Bank, an institution chartered by Congress in 1865 to receive the deposits of the freedmen of the South.

He purchased a tract of land near Anacostia, in the District of Columbia, which he made his home, called Cedar Hill. A very remarkable coincidence is that this place belonged to one of the aristocracy in slavery days who in his will stipulated that no Negro, mulatto nor Irishman should ever become owner of a foot of his possessions. In this mansion Mr. Douglass spent the last twenty years of his life, surrounded by his books, letters, and other souvenirs of his busy life and travels. His home was

[5] The *New York Independent* edited at the time by Theodore Tilton, is authority for the statement that Mr. Douglass by his silence until after the confirmation of Minister Ebenezer D. Bassett, prevented his own nomination for the same post. The editor quotes from a private letter as follows: "It is quite true that I never sought this or any other office; but is equally true that I have never declined it, and it is also true that I would have accepted, had it been offered."

Douglass Statue, Rochester, N. Y.

always open and few there were interested in the cause of the Colored American who visited the National Capital without visiting the Sage of Anacostia at Cedar Hill.

Among the honors bestowed on him was the U. S. Marshalship by President Hayes in 1877, the Recorder of Deeds by President Garfield in 1881, and the U. S. Ministership to Haiti in 1889, by President Harrison. In 1893 he was Haitian Commissioner at the World's Exposition at Chicago, and for several years one of the trustees of Howard University. He died February 20, 1895, at his home after having attended a Woman's Suffrage Convention in session.

The intelligence of his death occasioned sadness and sorrow throughout the land, memorials were held in his honor and the expression was unanimous that one of the greatest men of the century had passed away. His funeral ceremonies were held at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church in Washington, of which he was a worshiper, where his remains were viewed by thousands.

Tens of thousands of the city's population lined the sidewalks, as the funeral procession made its way to the depot, thence to Rochester his former home, where his remains were deposited in Mount Hope Cemetery by the side of his former wife, Anna Murray Douglass.

In 1899 a monument erected in his honor was unveiled in Rochester in one of the most conspicuous parts of his city. The Republic of Haiti appropriated $1,000 towards its erection. The only other monument in Rochester is one to Abraham Lincoln. A bust of Mr. Douglass occupies a niche in the University of Rochester, placed there during his life by act of the municipal council and on one of the pillars of the State House at Albany, are the lineaments of the great orator and reformer.[6]

[6] Visitors of . . . will be attracted by the grand stairway of the majestic Capitol at Albany that leads to its legislative chambers. Ascending to the third floor, they will behold on a line with the entrance to the State Library four finely executed heads handsomely carved in Scottish sand-

A corporation has been formed to preserve Cedar Hill as a historical memorial to be visited by millions as the years go by in grateful acknowledgment of the work of a man who more than any other made the abolition movement a vital issue in the history of the country.

stone and forming one of the capitals of its massive pillars; a rock of brownish hue, more durable than granite and capable of better artistic effect. Here you behold the rugged lineaments of Abraham Lincoln, the martyred emancipator president; there, that of U. S. Grant, the silent soldier who immortalized Appomattox; in a third you recognize Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, the hero of Winchester, bold, defiant, invincible; while the fourth, near the entrance to the assembly chamber, is the leonine countenance of Frederick Douglass. Not far distant on the same floor carved on similar pillars are busts of men famous in their country's history and all opponents of slavery.—The author, before the Bethel Literary.

XXVI

JOHN MERCER LANGSTON

JOHN MERCER LANGSTON, slave and son of Captain Ralph Quarles, veteran of the Revolutionary War, and Lucy Langston, whom he had manumitted in 1806, first saw the light in Louisa County, Virginia, December 14, 1829. Captain Quarles was a large landed proprietor with peculiar views as to the management of his slaves. No white man was allowed by him to oversee them, this work being done by his own men. On his death in 1834, Captain Quarles manumitted all his slaves and appointed trustees to remove them to Ohio with liberal provisions for the education of those recognized by him as his children.

In those days it was not uncommon for free Negroes to be kidnapped in the Northern States and be sold into slavery. John, when quite a lad, was being taken away from Chillicothe, Ohio, by Colonel William D. Gooch, his guardian, under circumstances that made it appear as if he were to be the victim of one of these attempts. Had it not been for the forethought of an elder brother and the legal skill of the lawyer, Allen G. Thurman, afterwards Senator from Ohio, Langston might have been sold into slavery. In due time young Mercer entered Oberlin College, living meantime in the family of George Whipple, one of the professors and later better known as Secretary of the American Missionary Association which did such phenomenal work in the normal and higher education of the Negro at the South. While in college he spent a vacation as a teacher in a country school at a salary of ten dollars a month and board, the salary being paid in five-cent and ten-cent pieces. Fifty dollars

was the sum realized from this service. Langston graduated from the college in 1849; but he aspired to be a lawyer and with this end in view he made an application to the Albany Law School and was frank enough to let it be known that he was in part of Negro blood. This caused his refusal, but it was intimated that if he were to claim other than African blood he could enter. Langston scorned to sail under such false colors.

He returned to Oberlin and took up a course there in theology for its disciplinary effect and graduated once more in 1853. He also pursued legal studies in the law office of Philimon Bliss and was admitted to the bar in 1855 after an examination in open court, and was the first of his race to pursue that vocation in the West. Thus he began his remarkable career. He filled several elective township offices, was twice elected to the Oberlin council and for eleven years was a member of the board of education. During these years he diligently practiced his profession and was a factor in the events of that epoch which include the election of Lincoln, the Civil War and Emancipation.

When the policy of Negro enlistments was settled, he became a successful recruiting officer for these regiments, and his first visit to Washington was to suggest the propriety of obtaining a colonel's commission in one of these regiments. Gen. James A. Garfield, subsequently President, accompanied him to the White House and introduced him to President Lincoln.

At the National Convention of colored men held at Syracuse in 1864, he was chosen head of the Equal Rights League, the plan for which had been adopted by that body. Mr. Langston entered upon the work of organizing the league with enthusiasm and energy, contributing very largely to the success of this first movement among colored men, which embraced the South as well as the North. Upon the undertaking by the Freedmen's Bureau of the work of assisting in the maintenance of colored schools in the South, Langston was, at the suggestion of Chief Justice Chase, appointed its Inspector-General, with the duty of

visiting the schools under its control for the colored youth of the South, and reporting their condition from time to time to General O. O. Howard, the head of the Bureau.

In the discharge of this work he found opportunity to arouse the recently emancipated with respect to education. The popularity and strength he developed led Andrew Johnson, President, to tender Langston the position then held by General Howard, but it was courteously declined as was also the ministership to Haiti. When Howard University was established and a law department opened, the task of organizing it was imposed on Mr. Langston, and he was equal to the emergency.[1] Young men came from different sections of the country and the West Indies and began the study of the law, an opening denied colored youth twenty years before. He gave all his energy to this new opportunity, resigned from the Oberlin Board of Education and brought his family to Washington.

In 1871, the year of the first commencement, the presence of Charles Sumner as the orator attracted wide attention, as he had made it a rule to refuse all such invitations. His acceptance was an act of courtesy to Langston and an encouragement to colored men to study law. Through the good offices of Senator Sumner the presence of Ralph Waldo Emerson was secured in one of the Sunday morning course of lectures on Ethics, given to the law students.

President Grant appointed Mr. Langston a member of the first Washington Board of Health, a position held by him for seven years. This Board of Health had plenary, almost absolute, powers in the sphere of municipal sanitation and hygiene. The only lawyer on the board, Mr. Langston's abilities were called into constant use.

Shortly after their organization they visited several Northern

[1] He was admitted to practice in the U. S. Supreme Court, Jan. 17, 1867, on motion of General J. A. Garfield. The first Negro was John A. Rock of Massachusetts.

cities to get the benefit of the experience of other local health boards. The following story displays Mr. Langston's wit and repartee: "You have a Negro on your board?" "Yes," answered Professor Langston, "And he knows as much of sanitation as any of them; he has as much common-sense, is as eloquent and"—turning to the darkest one in the party, said—"Allow me to introduce him, Dr. Bliss." Taking the joke, Dr. Bliss said, "I may be darker than you, Professor Langston, but your hair is not so straight as mine."

Professor Langston was also a trustee of the Freedmen's Saving and Trust Company [2] until it went out of business in 1874.

On the resignation of General Howard from the presidency of the University, Professor Langston was chosen vice-president and acting president. This was in 1873. On his failure to be elected to the presidency Langston retired from the institution in 1875 and the law department suspended operations for two years.

In 1877 President Hayes tendered Mr. Langston the position of Minister Resident to the Court of Port au Prince. It was accepted and held for eight years, when he promptly resigned, as there was a change of administration, Cleveland having succeeded Arthur in the Presidency. President Cleveland sent for Minister Langston and asked him to remain Haitian Minister. With characteristic promptness, Mr. Langston replied: "Mr. President, I actively opposed your election and cannot, therefore, conscientiously remain in your administration."

He was, however, not left long a private citizen. While performing a special mission to Haiti for the merchant, John Wanamaker, he was chosen president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute at Petersburg. Here his college training, his experience as educator in Ohio and at Howard, his service as Inspector-General of Schools for Freedmen and in the diplomatic service, with his high ideals, chivalrous disposition

[2] See Appendix.

and superb courage, inspired his race in Virginia to such a degree that they developed manliness and political independence to an extent hitherto unknown. After a memorable canvass for the nomination, in which he had the opposition of the political organization headed by the most astute manager the Republican party ever had in the South, General William Mahone, Langston was elected to the Fifty-first Congress, but he had to contest his right before Congress, for the election certificate had been awarded to his opponent, although his election was conceded. He received his seat in the last days of the first session. He was defeated for reëlection, after which he resumed his practice and continued it until his death in Washington, November 15, 1897.

In his family life Mr. Langston was singularly fortunate. Upon the completion of his professional course at Oberlin, he led to the marriage altar Miss Caroline M. Wall, like himself, a graduate of Oberlin. Three sons and a daughter helped to make his fireside an ideal home.

The traditional influence of the family for education may be seen in these coincidences: In 1849, in his twenty-first year, he graduated from Oberlin College. Nearly thirty years after, his eldest son, then twenty-one, took the same degree, A.B., from the same spot, and, following their examples, the grandsons, John Mercer Langston, Second, and Carroll Napier Langston, in turn, when twenty-one, followed in the steps of their immediate predecessors. This is an example unique in the history of the colored race in America where three generations have graduated from the same college and at the same age.

The encouragement that he ever gave young men striving for education and a career, his dignity, his courtesy and his manliness were traits of character which commanded universal admiration. He was much in demand on emancipation occasions, in political campaigns and as a popular platform orator. Many of the best of his addresses on these occasions are published in book form

under the title "Freedom and Citizenship." They are introduced by a sympathetical biographical sketch written by Dr. J. E. Rankin, the poet-preacher, and are able, eloquent, scholarly, exemplifying Mr. Langston at his best. An autobiography "From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capital" gives in detail the principal events of his life.

There were two dramatic situations in his career that became great oratorical triumphs—his appearance at Louisa Court House, near the place of his birth in the dawn of Reconstruction not long after the Civil War.

An army officer who was stationed at Gordonsville, Virginia, and had charge of Reconstruction affairs reported the incident in the *Washington Star* while Mr. Langston was Minister to Haiti as follows: "It was given out that John M. Langston the colored orator . . . would speak at Louisa Court House. The result was an unusually large attendance of colored people, so that the town was full. . . . Although a long while free, and honorably distinguished there never had been a time before when Mr. Langston could safely visit his native county. Now he was to come back, a leading man of his race, to speak in public, and to revisit the scenes and recall the memories of his childhood. It was therefore a great occasion for him and for the freedmen of Louisa County. The white people, however, took little note of it or interest in it, although I had tried among the lawyers and some of the merchants, and other principal citizens, to convey the impression that Langston was a man they should recognize and respect. I remember particularly trying to convince General Gordon, then County Attorney, and an excellent man, that he might be pleased with Langston, and would be interested if he came over and heard him talk. The feeling that the Negro was, in all cases necessarily inferior and totally uninteresting was however, too strong and the General and several others manifested impatience, if not a little indignation at my commendatory observation about Langston.

They would not have it that any 'nigger' could talk law, politics, reconstruction or anything else with a degree of ability and intelligence to merit their attention; and they could not imagine that they themselves were soon to attest in a remarkable manner the folly of settled enmity or contempt of an entire race or class of men.

"Of course, Langston would not be received at any hotel in the village, but I managed to get over that difficulty by engaging a room for myself at the American, inviting him into it, and quietly ordering a private luncheon for two, of the best the house afforded. With less difficulty a pleasant green, where shade trees and a speaker's platform, was secured for Langston's address, and after luncheon when a crowd of colored people had assembled, I walked with him and a few white Republicans, objects of intense detestation to the mass of people to the platform. I noticed General Gordon and a few of the prominent citizens around the outskirts of the crowd within hearing of the speaker, but none seemed to be really attending the meeting. Langston began by referring to old Virginia and Louisa County as the place of his birth, and spoke in the happiest vein and with all the eloquence, elegance and oratorical art that distinguished him of the genuine affection he felt for his native State and town, and of the pleasure it gave him to come back again to the home of his boyhood. In a few minutes he had the mastery of every man within his voice. He pictured the greatness of the State in its earliest days, referred to its distinguished men, and its history and national influence, spoke touchingly of its present temporary depression and distress, and most hopefully and glowingly of its future promise and possibilities as a free state. Then with admirable taste and tact he fell naturally into a discussion of the living questions of the day, avoiding all irritating points and expressions. In a little while I looked about me and saw the platform and all avoidable space near it and around it packed with white people. The blacks accustomed to yielding

precedence had given up all the best places and a white man was wedged into every one. More eager interest I never saw in the faces of any audience. There was General Gordon crowding near Langston with irrepressible confession of homage springing from his eyes and pouring down his cheeks, while the beautiful periods, paying honor to Old Virginia, fell from the orator's lips. The address continued for two hours with unflagging interest on the part of the audience, and closed with an admirable peroration. Then followed a scene of spontaneous enthusiasm that is seldom witnessed.

"It was my purpose to introduce several white citizens to Langston at the close of his speech, but the excitement among them was too great. They crowded upon him, as many as could get near, and fairly overwhelmed him with the warmth and energy of their unconstrained greetings and compliments. He was borne by the pressure into the dining room of the hotel, and a grand dinner was forthwith ordered in his honor, at which General Gordon presided, and many of the best citizens sat at the board. He was at once a guest of the town, and no attention of honor seemed too great for its good people to bestow upon him. All prejudice against his color was totally extinguished. After dinner, the white ladies sent a committee to wait on him to invite him to address them at the principal church in the evening. He accepted the invitation and the auditorium was more than crowded by the best people of the place. Even the windows and doors were packed. General Gordon escorted him to the pulpit and introduced him to the audience. The best room in the hotel was now opened to him, and the next morning carriages were provided, and in company with a numerous escort to visit the homestead and tomb of his father, and . . . the humble grave of his dark-hued mother."

The other was his dashing campaign for the nomination for Congress, when he displayed superior generalship to General

William Mahone, and the army of federal politicians, State and National.

Dr. J. E. Rankin draws this pen picture of Langston:

"With less massive movement of mind and dignity of address than the great orator Douglass, for platform speech he is keener and more magnetic. In person he is little above the medium stature, slender and straight as an arrow. For suavity and grace of person he might be taken for a Frenchman, and sometimes as you look at his features you think he may be of Spanish or Italian descent. But to-day he makes his boast that he has some of the best blood of the three races, so historic in the great events of the continent: the Indian, the Negro, and the Anglo-Saxon."

XXVII

BLANCHE KELSO BRUCE

B. K. Bruce was the most successful political leader that the American Negro has yet produced. Though born a slave in Farmville, Prince Edward County, Virginia, March 1, 1841, he rose to an official position in the legislative and executive service of the United States next below that of Vice President and Cabinet Officer. Branch Bruce was the name given him in childhood, but as he approached manhood he changed it to Blanche Kelso. In this respect he was not unlike Booker Washington, Frederick Douglass and Grover Cleveland.

The family were taken first to Mississippi, thence to Brunswick, Mo. In this town when quite a small boy he was a printer's devil. All his odd moments were spent in reading books and newspapers. Thus, like many another man who has become eminent, he laid the foundation of a good English education.

Speaking of Mr. Bruce's early attempts to educate himself, his friend, Mr. George C. Smith, to whom the author is indebted for much data not otherwise obtainable, says: "It was not until '83 that I got an insight into how he acquired the rudiments of an education while yet a slave. Strange I had never asked him to tell me. At the time referred to I spent an evening with Congressman Cosgrove, of Missouri, at Willard's Hotel in Washington, who told me much of Mr. Bruce's boyhood. He said that many years before the war he (Cosgrove) was learning the printer's trade at Brunswick, Mo., and that Mr. Bruce was the 'devil' on the press, and whenever he was wanted, he was always found with his head buried in a book or a newspaper,

that it was a difficult job to keep him at work. Having learned the trade of printer he (Cosgrove) left Brunswick and did not return until '82—nearly thirty years thereafter—when he thought he would visit the printer's office, where he found the same old man publishing the same little sheet, and said almost the first question he asked, was, 'Where is that colored boy—the "devil"? When the old man said, 'why, have you never seen or heard of him since?' and taking from his pocket a dollar bill, the old man pointed to the lower left-hand corner to the name 'B. K. Bruce, Register' and said: 'Not only is he the Register of the United States Treasury, and no bonds or paper money issued by this great government is valid without his name, but he has become a United States Senator and to-day stands as not only the recognized leader of his race, but one of the great men of this nation. Even you, Mr. Cosgrove, cannot get to Washington, to be sworn in, unless you have a "pass" from this "devil" of ante-bellum days.' "

During the early days of the Civil War he escaped to Lawrence, Kansas, and opened there the first school for colored children. In 1864 the first school for colored children in Missouri was taught by him at Hannibal. In 1866, he entered Oberlin where he remained only one year. The next year found him at St. Louis, an employé on the Steamer *Columbia,* which plied between St. Louis and Council Bluffs, Iowa.

The political reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion having been fairly begun, Mr. Bruce left the steamboat service, went prospecting, first to Arkansas, thence to Tennessee, finally remaining in Mississippi. Shortly afterwards he was appointed by Military Governor General Adelbert Ames, conductor of elections for Tallahatchie County. On the assembling of the legislature in the winter of '69-'70, Mr. Bruce appeared at Jackson as a candidate for sergeant-at-arms in the senate and was elected, serving during the entire session. In 1871 he was appointed by Governor Alcorn as assessor of Bolivar County, and in the

same year was elected sheriff and tax collector. He took charge in January, 1872. He was next appointed member of the levee board and cotton tax collector. These offices required a bond of $200,000, which was made in the county and principally by Democrats who had confidence in his integrity and business capacity.

He was also appointed by the State Board of Education the county superintendent of the schools in Bolivar County.

All these offices were discharged with marked efficiency. His next step upward, to the United States Senate, was a prodigious one. His election to it was no accident, but the outcome of a campaign planned three years before and begun in the United States Senate chamber itself.

While returning from the National Republican Convention to which they were both delegates, James Hill, the foremost Negro leader of the State, and Mr. Bruce visited Washington. Among other places was the Capitol where they strolled in the Senate, sought and sat in the seats of Alcorn and Ames.

"How would you like to occupy that seat?" said Hill to Bruce.

"What do you mean?" said Bruce.

"Occupy it as Senator from the State of Mississippi," was Hill's answer.

"It is out of the question," was Bruce's reply.

"I can and will put you there; no one can defeat you," added Hill with vigor.

Hiram R. Revels had been elected to the United States Senate for an unexpired term which had lapsed ten years before by the resignation of Jefferson Davis to become president of the Southern Confederacy. In popular esteem Revels had not proven a success. He had incurred the displeasure of Senator Sumner because of a certain vote and his reëlection was out of the question. Mr. Bruce, on the other hand, had attracted increasing attention because of his businesslike methods of

transacting public affairs and his executive ability. The *Floreyville Star,* a weekly published in Bolivar County made sentiment for the election of a colored Senator for the full term of six years, but named no candidate, though its incidental references to Mr. Bruce were that he was too valuable a man to be spared from the county and also that he could not be induced to accept. At the time of the election of Revels some of the colored members of the legislature thought that they should have had the full term of six years instead of the short one. Governor Ames who had left the Senate and been elected governor mainly to promote his chance for the term beginning March 4, 1875, announced his candidacy; but Hill was equal to the occasion and defied the governor. When the legislature met, the white and the colored Republicans held first, separate, then joint caucuses for the senatorial nomination. Several colored men aspired for the honor, and the white Republicans sought to divide the colored forces by the candidacy of one or more of these aspirants, but 59 of the 60 colored members stood firm. Bruce was nominated and was elected. Hill's pledge made in the United States Senate Chamber three years before was redeemed. The *Floreyville Star* ceased to shine and its proprietor and editor-in-chief took his seat as the first and only Negro in the United States Senate to serve a full term of six years. His term ended with the inauguration of James A. Garfield as President.

A very interesting incident connected with Mr. Bruce's induction into office is told in the Senator's own language.

"When I came up to the Senate I knew no one except Senator Alcorn who was my colleague. When the names of the new Senators were called out for them to go up and take the oath, all the others except myself were escorted by their colleagues. Mr. Alcorn made no motion to escort me, but was buried behind a newspaper, and I concluded I would go it alone. I had got about half-way up the aisle when a tall gentleman stepped up and said:

" 'Excuse me, Mr. Bruce, I did not until this moment see that you were without an escort, permit me. My name is Conkling,' and he linked his arm in mine and we marched up to the desk together. I took the oath and then he escorted me back to my seat. Later in the day, when they were fixing up the committees, he asked me if anyone was looking after my interests, and upon my informing him that there was not, and that I was myself more ignorant of my rights in the matter, he volunteered to attend to it, and as a result I was placed on some very good committees and shortly afterwards I got a chairmanship. I have always felt very kindly towards Mr. Conkling since, and always shall."

Four years later the Senator, who married in 1878, named his son *Roscoe Conkling* Bruce.

Although disappointed in his ambition to return to Oberlin, Mr. Bruce pursued by private study its full college course. He allowed nothing to interfere with his plan, and even after his entrance upon his duties as Senator he employed a distinguished educator under whose tutelage he broadened his mental training.

While in the Senate he occasionally presided over its deliberations. He served on these standing committees: Education and Labor, Manufactures, Pensions, Improvement of the Mississippi River and its Tributaries, besides being Chairman of the Select Committee on the Levees of the Mississippi and of the Freedmen's Saving and Trust Company. In this last-named committee, appointed to investigate the affairs of this corporation, he rendered special service by making public the wrongs perpetrated on the masses of his race, saving thousands of dollars to the depositors in winding up its affairs and by paving the way for governmental aid.

At the expiration of his term in the Senate he was nominated May 19, 1881, as Register of the Treasury by President Garfield. He served four years, and discharged the duties of this

office with entire satisfaction to the Administration of which he formed a part. This appointment of a *Negro* to a place where his signature was necessary on all the United States Currency and Securities to make them legal, was the first of the kind in our history.

At an early period of the administration of Cleveland, in 1885, Mr. Bruce retired to private life and carved for himself a new career. He went on the lecture platform, spoke far and wide, rapidly developing a facility and power of speech that made him one of the best-equipped men of the race in the public eye, so that his services, next to those of Frederick Douglass and John M. Langston, were in constant demand as orator on anniversary and other special occasions.

A severe test of his ability in this respect was when he appeared on the same platform in a symposium on the Race Problem with such a master of controversy as Dr. (now Chaplain, retired) T. G. Steward, such a scholar as Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, and Mrs. Anna J. Cooper. This came off in the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church in Washington. Here his lucid, exhaustive, masterly presentation of the subject gave him preëminence in the discussion.

On the return of the Republicans to power in 1889, Mr. Bruce was named as Recorder of Deeds, succeeding Mr. James Monroe Trotter of Massachusetts, also a colored man and a veteran of the Civil War, whose independence in politics had commended him to the favorable consideration of President Cleveland, especially as a Republican Senate had failed to confirm for the same position James C. Matthews, a colored lawyer of Albany, N. Y., who had acted with the Democratic Party since the Liberal Republican Movement of 1872. Mr. Bruce served as Recorder of Deeds until May 25, 1894, Cleveland having in the meanwhile been elected President the second time.

During his term as Recorder Mr. Bruce was appointed trustee of the public schools of Washington. He served in this capacity

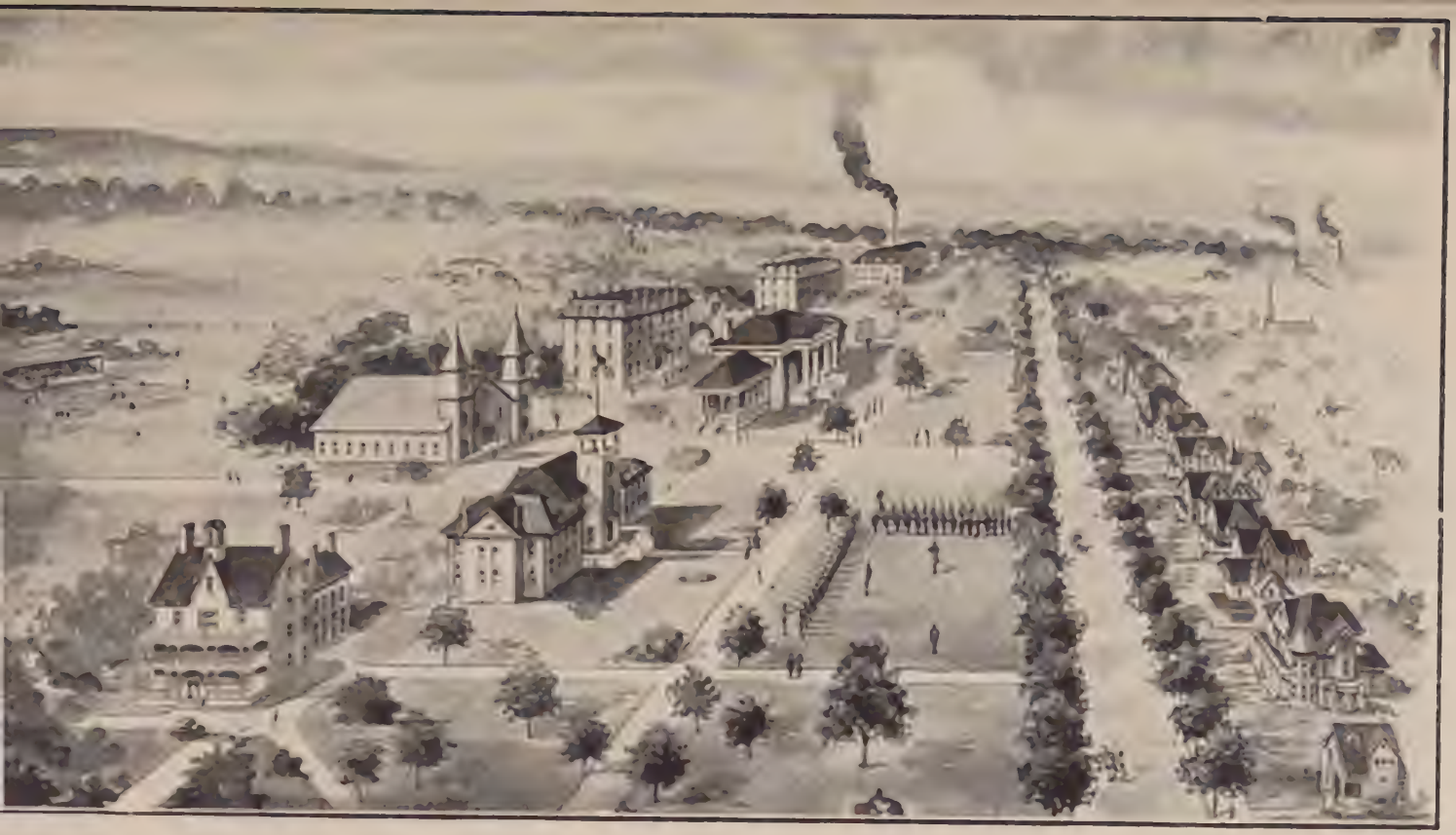
for seven years or up to his appointment as Register of the Treasury by President McKinley. He began his term of office December 2, 1897, on the 38th anniversary of the martyrdom of John Brown. Mr. Bruce had completed but three months of official duty when he fell a victim of diabetes, which for several years had made insidious attacks on his otherwise vigorous system.

Mr. Bruce was elected trustee of Howard University in January, 1894, succeeding Bishop John M. Brown. Howard had conferred on him the degree of LL. D. He was a planter on a large scale, beginning in 1891 and continuing up to the time of his death.

He was delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1872, 1876, 1880 and 1888. In the Convention of '80 he was one of the "306" to vote for U. S. Grant for more than thirty ballots, after which Garfield was nominated President.

As Commissioner General of the World's Cotton Exposition, Department of Colored Exhibits, held in New Orleans, from November, 1884, to May, 1885, Mr. Bruce afforded the country and the world the first opportunity of showing what the Negro could do in the arts, invention and many lines of handicraft. He secured the sum of fifty thousand dollars from the management and with this he installed exhibits from colored people all over the United States. These exhibits received most favorable comments from representative journals whose correspondents had visited the Exposition.

Physically Mr. Bruce was a splendid type of the American Negro. He was above the average height, broad-shouldered and erect. His countenance and manner provoked no antagonisms, yet indicated one who while not eager to enter a contest could bear himself manfully when in it. His entire personality harmonized with his repeated political successes achieved in the Era of Reconstruction in Mississippi, his career on the Board of Education, as an Executive officer and in the United States Senate in Washington.



Bird's-eye View of Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.

XXVIII

JOSEPH C. PRICE

It is doubtful if the nineteenth century produced a superior or more popular orator of the type that enlists the sympathies, entertains and compels conviction than Joseph C. Price. In little more than a brief decade he was known in Great Britain and the United States, both on the Pacific and the Atlantic, as a peerless orator. In 1881 he first rose to eminence as a platform speaker; in 1893 his star sank below the horizon. Yet he was more than orator: he was a recognized race leader; a most potential force in politics, though not a politician; a builder of a great school—a most conspicuous object lesson of "Negro Capabilities."

His fame rests not alone upon his popularity within his own church or his own race, for the evidence is conclusive that though unmistakably identified with the Negro, Democratic whites and whole communities recognized his worth, highly esteemed him, honored him in life and mourned him in death.

Joseph C. Price was born February 10, 1854, in one of the darkest decades of the nineteenth century, at Elizabeth City, North Carolina, while the law of the land and its administration were in the complete control of the Slave Power. Webster and Clay who had largely influenced the politics of the country, had passed off the stage of action. Stephen A. Douglas and Jefferson Davis were molding the pro-slavery sentiment of the Nation.

The father of Price was a slave, and though the son followed the legal status of the mother, a free woman, yet his lot was that of the average slave child of this period. The Emancipation

Proclamation had not been issued when Price accompanied his parents to Newbern, the rendezvous of thousands of freedmen.

Reverend Thomas H. Battle says: "It was in the year 1862, when I was superintendent of the Sunday school of St. Andrew's Chapel that I was led by Providence on a bright Sunday morning to the church door. There I stood for several minutes, and while standing there I saw a little black barefooted boy coming stepping along on the railroad track. When he got opposite the church door I halted him and invited him in the Sabbath school. He liked the services so well that he was constrained to come again. At last he joined the Sabbath school and became a punctual scholar. From his stern, yet pleasant looks, his nice behavior, and other virtuous elements that were maintained in him, Sunday after Sunday, he attracted my attention more than any other scholar. While other scholars would laugh at him because of his boldness of speech and his eagerness to answer the questions that were put forth.

"One Sunday in the midst of these abuses which he received, I was compelled to lay my hand upon his head and exclaim these words: 'The day will come, my dear scholars, when this boy Price will shake the whole civilized world, and some of you will be glad to get a chance to black his boots.' Little did I think my prediction would come to pass so exact, but so it did."

In 1866 he attended the St. Cyprian Episcopal School under the control of a Boston philanthropic society, as all schools in the South for colored children then were. Here he advanced so rapidly that in 1871 he became a teacher at Wilson, North Carolina. At the end of four years he entered the Shaw University at Raleigh, remaining there only a short time, during which he made an open profession of religion, joined the A. M. E. Zion Church, and entered the Lincoln University at Oxford, Pennsylvania. While at Lincoln Congressman John A. Hyman who then represented the Newbern district offered Mr. Price a $1200 clerkship in the Treasury Department at Washington. Nine hun-

dred and ninety-nine out of a thousand would have accepted the position and left college, but Price refused the offer without hesitation. He entered upon his studies with assiduity. His abilities were promptly recognized. He took the first medal in an oratorical contest in his freshman year, was also first in the junior prize oration contest and graduated with the valedictory in 1879. During his senior year in college he took the studies of the junior theological department and graduated from this course in 1881. He was a delegate to the A. M. E. Zion general conference that met in Montgomery in 1880, in which, because of his rare oratorical gifts and his promise of distinguished service, he was ordained an elder before he had received his degree in theology. He was also chosen a delegate to the Ecumenical Conference of Methodism, held in London in 1881. Here he was brought in touch with the representatives of all the branches of Methodism, attracting attention to himself as one of the most popular orators and exponents of Negro Methodism. On the adjournment of the Conference he was induced to lecture throughout the British Isles on the condition of the American Negro and in the behalf of the interests of his church. By this means he raised $10,000, from the proceeds of which, with the assistance of $1,000 donated by the white merchants of Salisbury, the present site of Livingstone College was purchased.

On his return to America he was no longer Rev. Joseph C. Price, the popular orator of his denomination, but he was hailed as a new leader, verifying the prophecy of Frederick Douglass made in 1867, of "men rising up under the fostering wings of freedom and education all over the South, surpassing in eloquence and oratorical power" himself who "had been complimented as the great black man of the North."

During the remaining twelve years of his life no other Negro enjoyed greater popularity nor seemed destined by the consent of the people to be their acknowledged leader.

In the winter of 1883 the Bethel Literary of Washington,

D. C., then at the height of its fame, arranged a symposium which included among others Frederick Douglass, Fanny Jackson Coppin, Isaiah C. Wears and Mr. Price, at that time unknown except to a few personal friends from North Carolina or former students of Lincoln University. Lincoln Hall, now the Academy of Music, at which the exercises were held was thronged. For an hour and a half the audience had been held spellbound by the eloquence of Douglass, the glowing rhetoric of Mrs. Coppin and the pungent wit and irony of Wears.

As the hour of ten approached interest flagged, and although in expectancy very many remained, it was with difficulty that they were held in their seats to hear Price, the next and last speaker. His friends had grown restive and were solicitous at the outcome of this severe test. When he arose and uttered his first sentence the effect was electrical. As he developed his subject, illustrating first by jest then by anecdote, swaying his audience to laughter and to tears at will, he completely captured as well as captivated them. No one left the hall, although it was nearly eleven o'clock when he stopped speaking. The following Sunday he preached to the Plymouth congregation and many were unable to gain admittance. On the following Tuesday night, when Dr. O. M. Atwood read the paper on "Individual Development," Mr. Price was the lion of the hour in the discussion following the reading of the paper. Frederick Douglass and Mr. Wears were among the other disputants. Thenceforth Price never failed to draw an audience in Washington.

At the Centenary of American Methodism held in Baltimore in 1884, he was a delegate and had a prominent place on the program. In the following year he was chairman of the A. M. E. and A. M. E. Z. Church commission held in the city of Washington to consider the question of union between these two denominations. In 1890 he was elected president of two national conventions within brief intervals. The first was held in Chicago and the Afro-American League was formed. The second met in

Washington and chose Bishop Alexander W. Wayman as its presiding officer, but because of factional differences between Bishop Wayman and former Lieutenant-Governor P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana, Mr. Price, who had not arrived when the Convention was called to order, was subsequently elected president amidst great enthusiasm.

In 1891 Mr. Price was appointed Commissioner-General of what was to be the Grand Southern Exposition to be held at Raleigh. In the discharge of this duty he traveled extensively through the South, journeying in the interior as well as in the larger cities, and learned much at first hand of the material conditions of the masses at the South.

While he delivered addresses on invitation all over the country and participated in some prohibition campaigns, he took no part in party politics. He refused the Liberian Mission, even after his name had been sent to the Senate by President Cleveland. He would not allow his name to be considered in connection with the bishopric at any of the A. M. E. Z. General Conferences, from 1884 to 1892, though he could have been elected at any time practically without opposition. His one ambition was the upbuilding of Livingstone to the growth and development of which all his energies were given.

The history of Livingstone for the first ten years of its existence forms a most interesting chapter in the career of this remarkable man. At its Quarter Centennial [1] Exercises held in 1907 all the speakers honored Joseph C. Price as the one man who had made its success possible. Beginning in the fall of 1882, with five students in one building of two stories and forty acres of land, the total cost of which was $4,600, its progress was mar-

[1] At its quarto-centenary it had real estate valued at a quarter of a million dollars, had enrolled during its existence 6,500 students representing twenty-six States, and a large faculty of graduates from the collegiate department, scores from the theological, 291 from the normal of whom one bishop, presiding elders, nearly two-score ministers, 75 teachers and scores of physicians and other professionals.

velous. Before the end of the year there were one new building and ninety-three students. At the end of the second session the enrollment was 120 and during the summer the new building was enlarged to 91 x 38 and to four stories, including the basement. In 1885 Dr. Price visited the Pacific Coast in the interest of Livingstone and succeeded in raising nearly $9,000 which with $5,000 pledged by William E. Dodge[2] and from other sources he created a fund of $25,000 with which the Dodge and Hopkins Halls were erected. These donors whom Dr. Price brought to the aid of Livingstone, Collis P. Huntingdon, William E. Dodge and Leland Stanford were among the greatest philanthropists of the nineteenth century. They were no less swayed by the eloquence of Dr. Price than they were by their confidence and belief in him as a man.

Like most born leaders Mr. Price was tall and majestic, possessing a physique and personality noticeable in any gathering.

His friend, John C. Dancy, in describing his oratory says: "He was logical and argumentative, and never lost sight of these in his grandest flights. Simplicity of statement marked every utterance, and like Wendell Phillips, in order to judge him, you had to hear rather than to read him. To a most resonant and musical voice he added a personal charm and dignity which made him a general favorite and at home in any presence. Whether speaking for Mr. Beecher at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, or Mr. Spurgeon in London, or before the most aristocratic classes in Boston, or in the Nineteenth Century Club in New York, he was always, and in every place the same strong and forceful personality who won esteem, admiration and regard by his forcible, earnest and sincere expression of his honest convictions in a manly, dignified and winsome way."

A few instances of the electrical effect which the oratory of Mr. Price produced may give some slight idea to those who never

[2] Mr. Price's benefactor at Lincoln.

witnessed an exhibition of his wonderful power before an audience.

"It was in 1881 when only twenty-seven years old," says Bishop J. W. Hood, "Dr. Price began to be known—first by his speeches in North Carolina under the prohibition campaign, and no speaker made a better impression. White ladies who had never listened to a Negro orator before, were so pleased that they lavished bouquets of flowers upon him, and the best men of the State were proud to occupy the same platform with him."

The same prelate says, "When he made his first great speech before a white audience in Raleigh in 1881 a man present, who hardly would have put himself to the trouble of going to hear a Negro speak, said, 'After several of the distinguished orators of the State had spoken before this convention composed largely of the best men and women of the Old North State, there were several calls from all parts of the house for "Price, Price! Price!" You may imagine my surprise as the speaker stepped on the platform to find a great big black Negro with very white teeth. "Now Webster will catch it," this gentleman said, "and as for the ladies what will become of them?" I was almost beside myself with fear that something uncouth or unbecoming would be heard.' His suspense, however, was of very short duration, for the speaker had not uttered half-a-dozen sentences before the fear . . . had given place to astonishment. The black speaker was delivering in the best of English one of the most eloquent discourses to which it had ever been his privilege to listen."

As to his impress on the Ecumenical Conference of 1881 the bishop in his eulogy says: "In a five-minute speech he secured that attention of the world for which he was called 'the world's orator.' The wonder to people was that, while he was a stranger to nearly all the delegates, the audience seemed to know him. A few days previous he had captured an audience of two thousand people at the town of Hastings, and possibly a hundred of those who had heard him there had come to London hoping to hear

him again. They were scattered about in the galleries and hence when he arose there were calls for 'Price' from all parts of the house. When his clear voice rang out over that vast assembly in most polished English he was heard in all the committee rooms, and committees breaking off from their work stopped and asked each other, 'who is it that is creating such extraordinary enthusiasm'? The committee rooms were soon deserted; he set the conference wild with pleasing emotions. He was the favorite of the audience and the sound of his voice was the signal for the wildest enthusiasm, no matter how dull the session before he began to speak. At a grand reception given in Bristol to the delegates from abroad on the eve of their departure, Price was kept for the last speaker so as to hold the audience. Bishops Peck and Walden of the M. E. Church were among the speakers and it was ten o'clock when Price arose. You would have thought that the roof was coming off the house. Those who had started out turned back, and when he stopped they cried go on though it was nearly eleven o'clock."

His death October 25, 1893, in his fortieth year, was universally mourned. He left a widow and four small children bereft of his fatherly care. Untimely as his death, his life nevertheless was a complete and successful one. He had founded and established the foremost institution for the higher education of the Negro in the Southland controlled entirely by his own race. His race leadership was conceded by affirmative action more than once in church and civic bodies. He had won the good opinion of the white South during his life.[3] At his death four of the leading white lawyers of Salisbury asked and were permitted to act as pallbearers, while the mayor and the city council were present in a body.

[3] At Spartanburg, South Carolina, he was invited to speak before the students of a white institution. So delighted were they at his address that they voted him a gold cane, raised the money, purchased it and hurried to the train, which Mr. Price had rushed to meet, and presented it to him there.

XXIX

ROBERT BROWN ELLIOTT

Robert Brown Elliott as scholar, lawyer, orator and politician loomed up above all those of the Negro race whose public career began and closed in the Reconstruction Era.

He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, March 15, 1842, of West Indian parents. His educational training was begun in the schools of his native city, continued in Jamaica, where he resided with relatives, and ended in England, in which in 1853 he entered the High Holborn Academy; in 1855 he was admitted to Eton, one of the colleges of the University of London, graduating therefrom in 1858. He next began the study of law with Sergeant Fitzherbert, but shortly afterwards returned to Boston.[1]

During his early manhood he followed the sea, which enabled him to visit Ireland, Scotland, several of the West Indies and South America. He entered the U. S. Navy while the Civil War was in progress and during an engagement received a wound that made him slightly lame. The year 1867 finds him a resident and printer in Charleston, S. C., working on the Charleston *Leader,* subsequently the *Missionary Record,* edited by Rev. subsequently Bishop Richard H. Cain. Elliott's ability gave him such influence that his election to the Constitutional Convention authorized

1 This biographical sketch follows the conventional account found in the Congressional Directory, but is challenged as to some details. A very high authority who knew Elliott intimately says, he was born of South Carolinian, not West Indian parentage, and gives Hon. T. McCants Stewart for his authority that the extent of Elliott's legal training was a six months' close study of the South Carolina Code, on which before experienced eminent lawyers he sustained a very rigid examination, as a result of which he was admitted to the bar.

by the plan of reconstruction, easily followed. In this body the Republican Party had full sway and there were many Negro members. Among these were J. H. Rainey, R. H. Cain, Robert C. DeLarge, A. J. Ransier, and Robert Smalls, who all became members of the national House of Representatives, Francis L Cardozo, later state Treasurer and Secretary of State, W. J. Whipper, and J. J. Wright, who were elected state judges.

Elliott's appearance did not mark him as one destined to be at all prominent in the proceedings of the Convention, nor did the fact that he was silent the first fourteen days of the session, while there was oratory in abundance, but when he did take the floor his words at once challenged attention and foretold his eminence.

A measure which seemed to countenance payment to slave owners for their erstwhile slaves was up when he arrested its passage by saying among other things:

"The importance of this subject overcomes my reluctance to obtrude my feeble opinion, but as this subject has been presented here, I deem it the duty of every gentleman in this Convention to express himself candidly. . . . I am aware that it is urged that contracts made in the traffic of slaves were *bona fide* contracts, that Congress sanctioned them. But if Congress did sanction them it does so no longer. I contend there never was nor never can be any claim to property in man. I regard the seller of the slaves as the principal and the buyer as the accessory. A few years ago the popular verdict of the country was passed upon the slave seller and the buyer, and both were found guilty. The buyer of the slave received his sentence, and we are now here to pass sentence upon the seller. I hope we will vote unanimously to put our stamp of condemnation upon this remnant of an abominable institution which was such a stigma upon the justice of this country. I hope we will do away with everything connected with this bastard of iniquity."[2]

[2] T. J. Minton in the A. M. E. *Review.*

The measure failed to pass and Elliott became known as one of the leading members, justifying his assignment to the Committee of the Bill of Rights.

At the first election held under the constitution he was elected to the legislature. In this body he soon became the leader. He was chosen chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, a position which he held until 1876. March 25, 1869 he received the appointment from Governor Robert K. Scott as Assistant Adjutant-General of the State Militia, whence the title of general by which he was familiarly greeted.

He is thus described as a popular leader: "A Toussaint, commanding in appearance, and yet by his easy manner and his kind words inspiring love, confidence and respect, receiving these humble yeomen, who have come to claim his attention on some matter of interest to themselves or their friends. Wherever he would go you would see the smile of recognition and the doffing of the hat as a token of respect to the black chief. In traveling, around the car window they would gather for a word of recognition and a hearty shake of the hand."

After a spirited contest he was nominated and elected to the 42d Congress and reëlected to the 43d Congress from the district which had sent to Washington Preston S. Brooks, the assailant of Charles Sumner, nearly twenty-two years before.

During the canvass for his first nomination, an opponent in a crowded hall in Columbia, at a time when Mr. Elliott was supposed to be at a distant part of the State, bitterly attacked his record and made several personal reflections. "Mr. Elliott arrived while the meeting was in progress and heard much that was charged against him. He rose to reply to the consternation of his assailant; there was no disposition on the part of the tumultuous audience to hear him. Shouts of disapprobation were heard from all parts of the house, and in such a demonstrative and threatening manner as to have deterred most men from the attempt to reply. For the space of a quarter of an hour no sound

of his voice could be heard. But he persisted until a few words caught the ear of the mob, attracted their attention and held them until riot gave way to reason. From unwilling hearers they became enthusiastic listeners. Outspoken disapprobation, jeers and hisses gave place to vociferous applause and at the close of his reply he had captured the meeting and put his assailant to flight."

The appearance of Elliott was most opportune. Such questions incident to reconstruction as civil rights, general amnesty and the Ku Klux Klan were among the political matters in which his constituents were vitally interested. Among the Republican leaders may be named, Benjamin F. Butler, James G. Blaine, George F. Hoar, William D. Kelley and James A. Garfield in the House; Oliver P. Morton, Charles Sumner, Roscoe Conkling, Zachariah Chandler, John A. Logan, John Sherman, Matthew H. Carpenter in the Senate. In the debate on all these questions Mr. Elliott bore a conspicuous part; but it was in the civil rights discussion that had been pending for three years that he won a name and a fame greater than that associated with any other colored Congressman. The debate on these questions was bitter and exhaustive. Two new elements were now present in Congress who were not represented in the forum of debate when citizenship and the franchise had been conferred seven years before. These were the ex-slaveholder and the freedman. The South had sent such of her ablest men as Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia; James B. Beck, of Kentucky; and John T. Harris, of Virginia, to contest every inch of ground in any further attempt to enlarge the liberties and privileges of the new citizen or to make these more secure. The Negro was represented in the 43d Congress by seven men as follows: James T. Rapier, Alabama; Josiah T. Walls, Florida; Joseph H. Rainey, Robert B. Elliott, A. J. Ransier, and R. H. Cain of South Carolina and John R. Lynch of Mississippi.

By his legal training and legislative experience in the consti-

tutional convention and the legislature of his State, Elliott was the foremost and was eminently fitted to take a prominent part in these discussions. The constitutionality of the Civil Rights Bill was sharply attacked, and the prejudice of race was made a plea against a measure alleged to be fraught with so much danger to the Republic. It was at this juncture that Elliott obtained the floor in reply to Alexander H. Stephens and delivered a most masterly speech, answering the constitutional questions and other objections raised, rebuking with scathing argument and merciless criticism the untenable position on which other opposition was based. He championed the cause of his constituents and his race with an appeal which stands unsurpassed.

Thus speaks one comment:

"All who heard his eloquence in debate and his learning felt that the ability, eloquence and learning of Hayne, Rutledge, Calhoun and McDuffie had been revived and transformed in a Negro," while General B. F. Butler of Massachusetts said on the floor of the House, "I should have considered more at length the constitutional argument, were it not for the exhaustive presentation by the gentleman from South Carolina, of the law and the only law quoted against us in this case, that has been cited, to wit, the Slaughter House cases. He with the true instinct of freedom, with a grasp of mind that shows him to be the peer of any man on this floor, be he who he may, has given the full strength and full power of that decision of the Supreme Court." Elliott's concluding words in this speech were:

"Technically, this bill is to decide upon the civil status of the colored American citizen; a point disputed at the very foundation of our present government, when by a short-sighted policy, a policy repugnant to true republican government, one Negro counted as three-fifths of a man. The logical result of this mistake of the framers of the Constitution strengthened the cancer of slavery, which finally spread its poisonous tentacles over the southern portion of the body politic. To arrest its

growth and save the Nation we have passed through the harrowing operation of intestine war, dreaded at all times, resorted to at the last extremity, like the surgeon's knife, but absolutely necessary to extirpate the disease which threatened with the life of the nation the overthrow of civil and political liberty on this continent. In that dire extremity the members of the race which I have the honor in part to represent; the race which pleads for justice at your hands to-day, forgetful of their inhuman and brutalizing servitude at the South, their degradation and ostracism at the North—flew willingly and gallantly to the support of the National Government. Their sufferings, assistance, privations, and trials in the swamps and in the rice fields, their valor on the land and on the sea, is a part of the ever-glorious record which makes up the history of a nation preserved, and might, should I urge the claim, incline you to respect and guarantee their rights and privileges as citizens of our common republic. But I remember that valor, devotion and loyalty are not always rewarded according to their just deserts, and that after the battle some who have borne the brunt of the fray, may through neglect or contempt, be assigned to a subordinate place, while the enemies in war may be preferred to the sufferer.

"The results of the war, as seen in reconstruction, have settled forever the political status of my race. The passage of this bill will determine the civil status, not only of the Negro, but of any other class of citizens who may feel themselves discriminated against. It will form the capstone of that liberty, begun in this continent, under discouraging circumstances, carried on in spite of the sneers of monarchists and the cavils of pretended friends of freedom, until at last it stands in all its beautiful symmetry and proportions, a building the grandest which the world has ever seen, realizing the most sanguine expectations and the highest hopes of those who, in the name of equal, impartial, and universal liberty, laid the foundation stones.

"The Holy Scriptures tell us of an humble handmaiden who long, faithfully and patiently gleaned in the rich fields of her wealthy kinsman; and we are told further that at last, in spite of her humble antecedents, she found complete favor in his sight. For over two centuries our race has 'reaped down your fields.' The cries and woes which we have uttered have 'entered into the Lord of Sabaoth' and we are at last politically free. The last vestiture only is needed—Civil Rights. Having gained this, we may, with hearts overflowing with gratitude, and thankful that our prayer has been granted, repeat the prayer of Ruth: "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

Two months after this speech Charles Sumner, the author of the Civil Rights measure, died. Memorial meetings were held North and South. A unique tribute was that by L. Q. C. Lamar in the House, but a rare honor was that accorded Elliott by the citizens of Massachusetts to pronounce the eulogy on Sumner in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty. The following extract is a contemporary tribute to the ability of the South Carolina Congressman in response to that invitation:

"Greater than the civil rights speech or any other effort ever made by Elliott was that at Faneuil Hall. It was a distinguished occasion. The wealth and culture of that city, representatives of the national, state and municipal governments were all there assembled within this hallowed place, whose walls have echoed the most brilliant oratory of America to hear a Negro's tribute to Charles Sumner in consonance with the dearest sentiments of every Negro the world over, whether in the rice swamps of Carolina or in the levels of Mississippi." "The press of Boston placed it in the highest rank of American oratory,

classing it with the best efforts of Adams, Warren, Hancock, Sumner or Phillips.''[3]

Shortly afterwards Elliott resigned from Congress in order to stem the tide then beginning to set in against the Southern Negro in politics because of charges of corruption against the party and the race in his State. He was elected once more to the State legislature and became Speaker. He was subsequently a candidate for the United States Senatorship, but failing to get his party's support he was not elected.

In 1876 he was nominated and elected Attorney-General of South Carolina, the only one of his race ever to receive that distinction. He entered upon his duties, but with the remainder of the Republican ticket he was forced to retire from this office, and to resume the practice of his profession. The Hampton administration which succeeded in obtaining control of the State government of South Carolina that year worked a complete revolution in the affairs of the State. Many officers under former administrations, both white and black, fled the State; others who remained were prosecuted, some fined and imprisoned. But although no one had been more prominent as a Republican politician than Elliott, he was never arrested on any charge of malfeasance in office or political corruption; yet he did not hesitate to defend with vigor many who were accused.

As a lawyer, he was frequently associated as counsel in many of the most important cases before the State court of last resort, for his legal abilities were conceded by the best lawyers of the State. His arguments before the State Supreme Court in the mandamus against the State Board of Canvassers, in conjunction with United States District-Attorney Corbin and ex-Attorney-General Akerman, ex parte Tilda Morris, and State vs. Samuel Lee, are models of forensic oratory and legal learning.

In 1873 Elliott was chosen chairman of the National Convention of colored men assembled in Washington to urge upon

[3] T. J. Minton, *Supra.*

Congress the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. He was a member of the National Republican Convention of '72, '76 and '80. In the last-named he seconded the nomination of John Sherman for the presidency. He was subsequently a special agent of the Treasury Department. Upon his resignation from this service he resumed his practice, with his main office in New Orleans and a branch in Pensacola, Florida. But he did not linger long after his removal to New Orleans for he died there August 9, 1884. The day after his death a commission appointing him to represent the United States as its agent for the Kongo Free State was received at his residence.

Elliott was a close student and had a working knowledge of the French, German, and Spanish languages, as well as a classical acquaintance with the Latin, and his familiarity with the Bible shows itself in his speeches. He was temperate in his habits, but extremely prodigal with his means.

Frederick Douglass, who had most excellent opportunity to meet and know all the foremost Negroes of the last fifty years of his life, said: "I have known but one black man to be compared with Elliott, and that was Samuel Ringgold Ward, who, like Elliott, died in the midst of his years."

XXX

PAUL L. DUNBAR

It is a sign of extraordinary talent or genius when one before he reaches his thirtieth year is recognized in representative journals as being among the literary men of his times, yet Paul Laurence Dunbar enjoyed this proud distinction.

The story of his life should be an inspiration to the millions of young Negroes throughout the land, although not one of them may, like him, seek and find a literary career. He was the son of Joshua and Matilda Dunbar and was born at Dayton, Ohio, June 27, 1872. His parents were both former slaves. His father had escaped from Kentucky to Canada and remained there until the Civil War, when, returning, he enlisted as a private in the 55th Massachusetts Regiment. After the war he made his home in Dayton, Ohio, and married Matilda Murphy, a young widow.

Paul was a delicate child who did not care for such outdoor sports as kites, tops or marbles. He preferred to read, to write and debate such questions as were within the comprehension of his childish mind with great vigor and earnestness. His zeal and ability in mastering these topics excited both the surprise and the alarm of his mother, who at the time of his graduation at the age of eighteen from the Dayton high school, was his sole surviving parent. He not only debated and discussed topics, but he was always writing pieces which he treasured up with great tenderness. These he placed in the possession of his mother with the request that she save them, for some day he would make a book of them. Although his mother thought this was but a childish fancy, she saved these papers.

On the death of his father he obtained employment as elevator boy and supported both himself and his mother, but he did not stop studying. Although he could not go to college he made up the deficiency by private study, and in this way steadily increased his information and strengthened his mind. He wrote from time to time for the papers in his native city; he acquired some reputation in the West and did some work for Eastern magazines whose editors did not dream that their brilliant Dayton, Ohio, contributor was a black elevator boy not yet out of his teens.

With his constant experience, he acquired literary confidence. One day he said to his mother, "Give me all my papers. I am going to make a book." Naturally credulous at such an ambitious undertaking for one so young, she replied:

"A book! You can't, my son; you have no money."

"But I will make a book."

Paul took his papers to a publishing house in Dayton, but the head of the firm threw cold water on the enterprise by refusing to print the book without an advance payment of one hundred dollars to cover expenses. But the manager who saw literary merit in the poems and promise in the lad said, "Leave your poems with me, I will print your book and you can pay me after you have sold them."

Paul, thus encouraged, left with a lighter heart and followed his usual work in the elevator awaiting the issue of his first book, "Oak and Ivy," from the press. One day a box of books was delivered to him in the elevator where he sold them all, in a very short time.

A copy interested Dr. H. A. Tobey, superintendent of the State Asylum at Toledo, who gave an order for a dozen, then for twenty copies which he distributed among many friends both within and without the State. All were captivated with "The Voice of the New Singer," and were anxious to learn more of him personally. Dunbar was sent for, to entertain some of these

friends by recitals from his poems. A second invitation followed and a reception in his honor was given at which Dunbar's mother was present to witness the honors which her son had won.

During the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, Dunbar, whose reputation had begun to spread, was a familiar sight at the Haitian Building where the stalwart and historic form of Frederick Douglass welcomed all who came to view exhibits of the island republic, Haiti, the Queen of the Antilles.

Dunbar's second book, "Majors and Minors" published in 1895 made him known to a larger public. William Dean Howells, the novelist, for many years editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and subsequently of *Harper's Magazine,* wrote very kindly of Dunbar's genius in reviewing the new book. He said this:

"Dunbar is the first black man to feel the life of the Negro esthetically and to express it lyrically." Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century,* commended him and his work most heartily, and Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, sister of President Cleveland, was as unstinted and cordial in her criticism and praise. "Lyrics of Lowly Life," dedicated to his mother, came next and sold rapidly. Other works that followed were "Folks from Dixie," "The Uncalled," "Lyrics of the Hearthside," "Poems of Cabin and Field," "The Strength of Gideon," "The Love of Landry," "The Fanatics," "The Sport of the Gods," "Lyrics of Love and Laughter," and "Candle Lighting Time."

"The Uncalled" which was Mr. Dunbar's first novel, appeared first in *Lippincott's Magazine* and all critics pronounced it "A strong character study," with such attention to details of plot, personages and construction as to prove that Mr. Dunbar thoroughly understood the literary art and had the power to produce a novel in which the interest can be kept up to the end.

He was without a rival in dealing with the dialect of his race found on the plantations and among its illiterate members. In this he is so true to nature; there is no artificial copying. His

humorous and dialect pieces demonstrate his ability as a first-class story teller, the pathos shows his deep insight in the workings of the human heart. His sketches show him to be an artist whose models are life itself, which he has studied with close observation and seen in their true relations. His characters live and move with all the elasticity, spirit, tone and naturalness with which they are found from day to day; and exhibit a correct knowledge of human nature.

It is also a proof of the high rank which Dunbar had taken to find his "Conscience and Remorse" in the "Library of the World's Best Literature," completed in 1898, when his fame was just beginning to be made known. It is quite sure had this publication been delayed a couple of years later more of his productions would have been selected, together with an analytical sketch of his work.

Among the most popular of his poems are "When Malindy Sings," "When the Co'n Pone's Hot," and "The Party." "The Poet and His Song" has been cited as example of his ease, his sincerity, sensitiveness to the outer world, his philosophy of life and the sweetness and pathos in the temper of his race.

. . . . . .

In an interview given a few years before his death speaking of the development of his literary career and his preparation for it, Mr. Dunbar said:

"My mother who has no education except what she picked up herself, taught me to read when I was four years old, and my parents being both fond of books, used to read aloud to us in the evening as we sat around the fire. To this I owe a great deal, but, generally speaking, the early influences surrounding me were not conducive to growth, and any development in myself came from fighting against them.

"Through the evening readings I was introduced to Robinson Crusoe, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and many other things. The former I have never read for myself, but I did run over the latter and

was disappointed in it. The author saw things through the lens of her own intense feeling, and they were magnified. I was educated in the public schools of Dayton, graduating at the high school, and afterward having two years' study.

"My first attempt at rhyming was made when I was six years old. I came across a verse from Wordsworth and a gentleman living in Dayton happening to have that name, I thought it was written by him. This impressed upon my mind, and as I crossed the railroad track, in going home from school, I remember trying to put words together having a jingling sound. After that I rhymed continually, my mother writing down my productions and preserving them in pasteboard boxes. My father used to tell her that I was not an ordinary boy, and one of my regrets is that he did not live to realize any of his hopes in regard to me.

"What I may call my first poetical achievement grew out of an Easter celebration at the Sunday School to which I went, when I composed the verses I had been asked to recite. I was then thirteen years old, and at the same time, Mr. Samuel Wilson, a teacher at the intermediate school which I attended, did much to shape and influence me. He was himself a writer of verse, and refined, traveled and wonderfully well read, he criticised my work and encouraged me both to compose and recite.

"After I entered the high school the fact of my being the only Negro in my class was a great spur to my ambition.

"The boys were very kind to me, however, and during the second year, I was admitted to their literary society, of which I afterward became president. At this time I contributed frequently to the high school paper, later being the editor.

"The first literary work for which I was paid was a prose composition, brought out by a syndicate, my patrons taken in the order in which they came being the Chicago *Record*, Detroit *Free Press*, Boston *Green Bag* and New York *Independent*."

Dunbar made a trip to England in 1897, where his popularity as a reader of his own poems and sketches became as marked as in his native land. In London he was given a number of receptions, he was the guest at many clubs and his books were republished in handsome editions. He returned home the same year and was appointed to a position in the Library of Congress which he retained only for a short time, his literary engagements being such that he found his time fully occupied with literary work. In 1898 he was married to Miss Alice Ruth Moore, a native of New Orleans, a young lady not only of literary tastes, but a considerable success as a writer. The story of their courtship and marriage is as romantic as we would naturally expect of two poets.

A poem entitled "The Haunted Oak," published in *The Century* for December, 1900, tells in a pathetic way the story of an oak tree beneath whose shadow one of his own race was lynched and on which thereafter no leaves grew. This poem with its weird and uncanny imagery, its faithful representation of disgraceful scenes, which neither the law nor the civilization of our land has proven itself able to prevent, appeals to millions and is destined to be one of the most striking of his productions. It voices the verdict of posterity in its denunciation of lynching. Its literary merit brought forth unmistakable evidences of appreciation from its publishers.

After the receipt of a check from the publishers, a second check was sent him by the publishers, an exceptional and unusual evidence of merit.

Mr. Dunbar was an excellent type of his race. There was no other than Negro blood coursing through his veins. He was slender of build, slightly above the average height and with regular features. He dressed in faultless style and was what he looked to be, a true gentleman in black.

After a most brilliant career he died at the early age of thirty-

four at the home of his mother in Dayton, Ohio, February 9, 1906. Telegrams and letters of condolence came to the stricken family from all parts of the country and the last sad funeral rites were such as might have been given to one of the first citizens of the Republic.

XXXI

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON was born about 1858 or 1859, a slave near Hale's Ford, Franklin County, a few miles southwest of Lynchburg, Virginia. He knows little of his ancestry save that his mother was an earnest Christian woman whose simple devotion made a lasting impression on his childish mind. He speaks with becoming indifference of his father, whom he suspects to be a white man, resident of a plantation not very far distant from that on which he was born.

There is a striking similarity in the description of his early life and that of Frederick Douglass. No slave boy knew more of the deprivations of food and clothing than he. His wardrobe was exceedingly scant; a plain shirt at times made of flax, so cheap, coarse and rough as to torture the one who first put it on, was all that he wore. As for a hat, he never possessed one until he was about ten years old, and it was made of some coarse cloth. His first pair of shoes was made of rough leather on the top, with heavy wooden soles about an inch thick. A bed was out of the question. He never slept in one until after emancipation. A pallet made on a dirt floor of old rags was his customary resting place. A cabin with openings in the side to let in the light, a dirt floor, a deep opening in the center covered with boards and used as a storehouse for sweet potatoes and other vegetables was his home. Some idea of what there was for a slave boy six years old to do may be learned in his autobiography, as follows: "I was not large enough to be of much

service, still I was occupied most of the time in cleaning the yard, carrying water to the men in the fields, or going to the mills to which I used to take the corn once a week to be ground. The mill was about three miles from the plantation. This work I always dreaded. The heavy bag of corn would be thrown across the back of the horse, and the corn divided about evenly on each side; but in some way almost without exception on these trips the corn would so shift as to become unbalanced and would fall off the horse, and often I would fall with it. As I was not strong enough to reload the corn upon the horse, I would have to wait sometimes for many hours till a chance passer-by came along who would help me out of my trouble."

Booker first learned of the Civil War by overhearing the prayers of his mother for the success of Union arms and the deliverance of her children and race from slavery.

An incident in his early life was the journey of the family several hundred miles to West Virginia where his stepfather had found employment in salt mines. The journey was overland, largely by foot across the mountains and the rough country roads. During this trip one night the family camped near an old log cabin. The thoughtful mother thought to make it more comfortable by building a fire in the cabin and making a pallet therein, instead of out in the open, but the dropping of a large black snake nearly five feet long from the chimney, caused them to abandon that resting place.

After weeks of this outdoor life they reached their destination, Malden, about five miles from Charleston, the capital of West Virginia. The new home was not more comfortable than the old, for it formed one of a settlement of an ignorant and debased gang of white and black laborers. Quarrels, fights, carousals, gambling and all the grossest forms of vice and immorality prevailed. During his employment here Booker gained his first book knowledge. The number "18" by which his father was known as a part of the working force, was his first lesson.

He learned it so thoroughly that he knew it wherever seen. He had always a desire to learn to read and his mother sympathizing with him in his ambition succeeded in gratifying her son's ambition, by procuring in some way for him a copy of Webster's blue-back speller known all over the country two generations past. Within a week he had, through his own efforts, mastered all the alphabet for there was no black person to teach him and he was afraid to approach any white one on the subject. The appearance of a colored boy from Ohio who could read was hailed with delight. At the close of the day's work this boy would read the newspaper to the miners, to their very great satisfaction. He would have been employed as a teacher, but he was too young to act in that capacity. Fortunately a colored soldier, also from Ohio, came to the community and he was induced to teach, each family agreeing to pay a certain sum each month and to board him by turns at their different homes.

Booker thought, of course, that he was about to realize his ambition, but not yet, for his stepfather could not spare him from work at the mines. What to do he did not know. He studied his blue-back speller more perseveringly, secured lessons from the teacher at night but finally was permitted to attend school in the day, provided, he would work at the furnace until nine o'clock and for two hours after the closing of school in the afternoon. But the schoolhouse was not near the furnace, it opened promptly and Booker's class had frequently recited when he got there. This presented another perplexing problem which Booker solved by turning the office clock a half an hour ahead every morning. He could thus leave his work and reach school on time. He justified his conscience without much of a struggle.

Booker's appearance at the school for the first time marks an important era in his life in two more respects. He had no cap; all the other pupils had theirs and there was no money with which to buy one. He never had worn any cap—in fact he had never possessed or felt that he needed any; his mother got two

pieces of homespun cloth, sewed them together, and thus he proudly became the owner of his first cap.

But children at school must have a name. He had been called "Booker," but then knew of no other. So when the schoolmaster called on him for his name he replied, "Booker Washington," as if that had always been his name. When he was much older he learned that his mother had named him soon after his birth, "Booker Taliaferro." He rescued the name from oblivion and thus we know him as "Booker Taliaferro Washington."

It was at this period that he first learned of the existence of the Hampton Institute by overhearing a conversation between some men in the mines. He learned of its location, its character, the conditions of the admission of pupils and the means by which they could be supported during their education. He was fired with the desire, but his circumstances were against its gratification. About this time he entered into the employment at five dollars a month of one Mrs. Ruffner, a Northern white woman known as one very difficult to be pleased by her servants, because of the manner in which she required her work to be done. Booker by doing everything in a thorough manner found no trouble in continuing in her employment and in securing her as a friend who fully sympathized with him in his aspirations for an education.

After much planning he decided in the fall of 1872 to enter Hampton. The distance from his home was nearly five hundred miles. He had only a cheap satchel in which to carry his few articles of clothing. He began his journey sometimes walking, at other times begging a ride; now in the old-fashioned stagecoach, then a few miles in the steam cars until having covered more than four hundred miles he reached Richmond long in the night, a perfect stranger and without a cent in his pocket. To use his language, "I must have walked the streets till long after midnight—I could walk no longer. I was tired. I was hungry.

I was everything but discouraged. Just about the time when I reached extreme physical exhaustion I came upon a portion of a street where the board sidewalk was considerably elevated. I waited for a few minutes till I was sure that no passers-by could see me and then crept under the sidewalk and lay for the night upon the ground with my satchel of clothing for a pillow."

Next morning he found work in unloading a vessel in the James near the "Rocketts" laden with pig iron. In this way he somewhat relieved the stern plight to which his pioneering trip over the mountains in West Virginia and down the hillsides of the Old Dominion had reduced him. It was in this condition that with fifty cents in his pocket he presented himself for membership in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.

The large and imposing buildings, the finely kept grounds, the benignant countenance of the officers and teachers, the contented faces of the students, gave him new inspiration and determined him more than ever to get an education at all hazards.

Without proper food, unkempt, ill-clad, his appearance did not inspire confidence; so when he informed the teacher in charge of his desire to enter as pupil there was no reply. She looked on her inquirer as she might on a loafer or tramp, and seemed uncertain what to do in his case, although other applicants were received with little or no delay. Finally she said: "The adjoining recitation room needs sweeping. Take this broom and sweep it."

He seized this opportunity with eagerness. He swept the room three times, then got a dusting-cloth and dusted it four times. When Miss Mary F. Mackie inspected it by taking her pocket handkerchief and rubbing it on the woodwork and over the table and walls, she quietly said: "I guess you will do to enter this institution." This he called his *college entrance examination.*

His experience in Hampton was one of constant self-denial.

While he made a favorable impression upon General S. C. Armstrong, the principal, and other officials, he had to meet the same requirements exacted of all the students by labor for board and tuition. His mother and brother assisted him from time to time, though it was extremely limited and at distant intervals.

In these first days at Hampton he was initiated in the virtues of the daily bath, the use of a napkin, the toothbrush and the mysteries of a pair of sheets on his bed. With reference to these he says: "The sheets were quite a puzzle to me. The first night I slept under both of them and the second I slept on both of them, but by watching the other boys I learned my lesson in this, and have been trying to follow it ever since and to teach it to others."

He was given the position of janitor which compelled him to rise as early in the morning as four o'clock to build the fires, after which he would prepare his lessons, and it was late at night before he could retire to bed. The expense for his board was ten dollars a month and he counted it a great privilege that he was allowed to work this entirely out. As was the custom, his tuition was provided by some Northern patron. Mr. S. G. Morgan of New Bedford, Massachusetts, has the distinguished honor of having provided the means for the intellectual training of this future leader.

Notwithstanding these—his own strong arm, his inflexible will and the philanthropy of his patron—Booker found himself sixteen dollars in debt to the school at the close of the first year. He had no means with which to go home like other pupils or to any watering place. So he found himself compelled to remain at Hampton—he got work in a restaurant, where an incident reveals how unsophisticated he was. Fortress Monroe, then as now, was quite a summer resort for many who do not care for the glitter and glare of such places as Saratoga, Newport, or Long Branch. Not a few of these guests are both wealthy and liberal. Booker's earnestness and industry had

its reward. He was surprised to find one day a crisp ten-dollar bill under the plate of one of his patrons. The green country boy took it to the proprietor for instruction as to what to do. He quickly pocketed it, but Booker was much disappointed. At the close of such a season Mr. Washington was no more able to wipe out that sixteen dollars indebtedness than at the beginning; but by frankly explaining his condition and purpose he was permitted to enter upon his second year.

In this year his study of the Bible and his experience in debating societies was a marked feature. He had the satisfaction of being able at its close by the assistance of a brother to visit his West Virginia home. Here, everyone was glad to see him, and his presence in every hamlet and at every concourse of people was a benediction, and a great intellectual uplift. One of the saddest incidents of his visit was the sudden death of his mother. It was she who had first encouraged him in his youthful ambition for an education; it was she who had denied herself and aided him while at school. It was she who had been rejoiced more than all others on his visit. He returned to Hampton at the opening of school and graduated in the class of 1875 as one of the honor students. He had worked to be one of the orators and he had succeeded.

During the summer after graduation he was successful in getting employment at a summer hotel in Connecticut. It was a new experience. He was given some people to wait on, but such was his success that he was made a dish carrier instead of a waiter. His spirit quailed, but by perseverance he was restored to his former position. In later years as a guest in the same hotel at which he was first waiter, next dish carrier and waiter again, he must have indulged in hearty laughs over incidents a quarter of a century before.

His first position as teacher was at his home at Malden, West Virginia. He labored here with marked success for two years, meanwhile sending first his brother, then an adopted brother to

Hampton. Other pupils were sent by him and all were so thoroughly qualified on their entrance that they were enabled to enter above the usual place given to beginners. He spent his next eight months at Wayland Seminary, in Washington, now a part of Union University at Richmond, Virginia. The contrast between prevailing conditions at Washington and those at Hampton did not impress him favorably, so he returned to Malden and took up his work as teacher with renewed zeal.

In 1879 he delivered a commencement address at Hampton on "The Force that Wins." In his journey thither he went over the same route as that by which he entered Hampton, seven years previously. The success of his address may be estimated from his invitation by General Armstrong to take charge of the Indian students, whom Hampton for the first time received within its borders. He was known as their "House Father." Notwithstanding the novelty and the difficulties of their position, he won their confidence and respect. The next year, 1880, he was charged with the organization of Hampton's first night school. Such was its success that it is to-day one of the attractive features of Hampton to youth desirous of obtaining an education.

In May, 1881, in one of his talks to students, General Armstrong spoke of an application he had just received for someone to take charge of what was to be a normal school like Hampton at Tuskegee, a town in Alabama. That night he sent for Booker Washington and asked him whether he would be willing to undertake the work. Mr. Washington said he would. The Alabama people were not looking for a colored man for the place, and there was some delay after General Armstrong had notified them. Finally there was received this telegram: "Booker T. Washington will suit us. Send him at once."

Washington lost no time in going to his new field. On his journey he had many mental pictures of his new school,—its location, size, appointments, equipment, etc. On his arrival he

was surprised to find no building, no pupils, nothing provided —only the State appropriation.

The colored people hearing of the great work that Hampton had done appealed to the legislature and they had provided an annual appropriation of $2,000. It was located at Tuskegee because it was in the midst of a large colored population and was, besides, an educational center.

The first work was to get a place for his school. After much labor he found the only available place was an abandoned church building and a shanty. In order to give public notice of his school and acquaint himself with the condition of those for and among whom he was laboring, he visited the people in their homes and found a condition of poverty, ignorance and improvidence that startled him. They lived usually in one-room cabins, with little or no household furniture, yet cabinet organs, costing sixty dollars, sewing machines of ancient make and fancy clocks—often out of order—all bought on the installment plan, were frequently met with. Sometimes he was invited to eat. Here their humble condition was apparent. Once he noticed five at a table and only one fork in the entire number. The family were assembled around a table very seldom. The father would get a piece of meat and bread in his hands which he would eat while on the way to his work. The small children would consume their food while playing about the skillet in which the meal had been prepared. The clothing of the people cannot be classified. That of the men was like Joseph's coat of many colors, the women were not much of an improvement, while the younger members of the family frequently were perfectly nude.

The humble beginnings of Tuskegee Institute were in harmony with the primitive condition of the people. The school was opened July 4, 1881, in the old shanty and the abandoned church, with thirty pupils, mostly from the immediate vicinity. Some had been teaching for years, others had received but little previous instruction. Their ages varied from fifteen years to

forty. Pupils and some former teachers were grouped together, and their advancement showed many surprises.

Washington displayed rare tact in the very beginning by getting as his advisers two men who were types of the best of both races. One, the most influential man in the entire community, a white banker; the other a colored man, the ablest local leader along those lines of activity in which his race desired to move. For more than twenty-five years they remained on the board of directors. The first assistant, Miss Olivia A. Davidson,[2] proved a most worthy helpmeet in this work. She was a native of Ohio, in which she had received her preparatory training. She had taught in Mississippi and at Memphis, Tennessee, nursing to health at the former place a boy with smallpox whom all others had neglected, and voluntarily tendering her services during the raging of the yellow fever epidemic in Memphis. After her graduation at Hampton, friends had made possible her training in the State Normal School at Framingham, Massachusetts.

The discomforts in these early days were disagreeable alike to both teachers and pupils. The building leaked to such an extent that when it rained it was necessary for one of the older pupils to hold an umbrella over their teachers, and his landlady was compelled to do the same thing for them at their meals. But these discomforts did not diminish the ardor or lessen the energy of their instructors, for at the end of the first month there were fifty pupils. This rapid increase served only to emphasize the necessity for a permanent place. An abandoned plantation one mile from the town consisting of one hundred acres of land, he learned, could be purchased for five hundred dollars, one-half cash and the balance on short time. Had its cost been $500,000, its purchase would have seemed just as impossible. In this perplexity he wrote to Mr. J. F. B. Marshall, treasurer of Hampton, to know if that institution would not advance the two hundred

[2] Married to Mr. Washington in 1886 and died in 1889.

and fifty dollars. His former teacher and benefactor replied that he could not use the funds of Hampton in this way, but he would gladly loan two hundred and fifty dollars from his private funds. The purchase was at once made and preparations for the use of the property purchased for the school begun.

The place had become overgrown with young trees and bushes, and hard outdoor work was necessary. The pupils objected to doing this work, but Washington set the example by pulling off his coat, rolling up his sleeves and taking his ax in hand. Their false pride at once departed and they worked with enthusiasm, clearing the ground and putting in their first crop.

An old cabin, a dilapidated kitchen, a stable and a hen house were all the buildings on the place. The stable was used as a recitation room, the hen house subsequently for the same purpose. In three months the loan to General Marshall was repaid, and in a few more months the place was clear of all incumbrances. Nearly all of this money came from the citizens of Tuskegee, Miss Davidson's entertainments and personal solicitations furnishing the methods. An old blind horse given by a white citizen was the first animal owned by the school. Now more than two hundred horses, colts, and other live stock, including hundreds of hogs and pigs would be found in the inventory.

Porter Hall was the name of the first building erected. It was built on faith. At a certain time an obligation of four hundred dollars stared them in the face, and not a dollar in hand with which to meet it, when the mail brought in a check for four hundred dollars. With the progress of the work, financial perplexities were many, but the embarrassments were all met. General Armstrong in one of these emergencies gave all of his savings.

A great family sorrow came to Washington at this stage. Miss Fanny N. Smith, also a graduate of Hampton, whom he had married in the summer of 1882, died before two years of their married

life had passed, leaving one daughter, Portia M. Washington. Mrs. Washington had not lived long enough to realize the immense possibilities of the school and the world-wide fame that was to come to her husband because of his connection with it.

Washington's determination from the first was to have his students do not only the agricultural and domestic but the mechanical work connected with the school, its growth and development. A very peculiar experience was their failure in brickmaking. Three times there was a failure. All his money was gone, but an old watch was pawned for the money with which to begin another experiment. This time they succeeded. Since then brickmaking has been one of the leading industries, as many as a million and a quarter being produced in one school year. Objections to industrial education confronted him, troubles about the dining-hall, about cooking stoves, table utensils, etc., rapidly pressed on him for solution—"not even water to drink"; but all these problems were solved.

To supply the necessities of the school it became Washington's duty to travel through the country and place before philanthropists the condition and the needs of his school. It is rather remarkable as one incident of his journeyings that he never received a personal insult from the whites while traveling in the South. Once he entered a Pullman palace car, in Georgia, when to his surprise he found present some white ladies from New England who invited him to a seat by their side. He endeavored to excuse himself, but they insisted. Next they ordered supper. This added to his embarrassment, for he knew the custom of the South. But he was further in it when one of the ladies prepared and served some tea. At the first opportunity he excused himself to go to the smoking car to test the effect of this novel sight in a Southern State. He was agreeably surprised to find man after man come forward, introduce himself and commend him for his work.

The circumstances that led to the appearance of Washington

Industries and View of Tuskegee.

before Northern audiences to promote his work at Tuskegee is unusually interesting. About 1885 General Armstrong invited Washington to accompany him North and to speak. When he accepted he found that the General had planned a series of meetings with a quartet of singers and that they were to be held in the interest of Tuskegee, though the Hampton Institute was to bear all the expenses.

This was the beginning of a phenomenal tour which first brought the attention of the nation and the world to the remarkable work carried on at Tuskegee under Washington's direction and management. It was not a path strewn by roses that he was to tread; there were many thorns, and rough stones he had to encounter on his way. After walking miles in the country to meet some special individual he often met little or no encouragement. Such was his first meeting with Andrew Carnegie and Collis P. Huntingdon, the great railroad king. Later these men gave their thousands. Once he found himself in Providence, Rhode Island, hungry and without a dollar to purchase a meal. On crossing a street he found a twenty-five-cent piece. With this he obtained a breakfast and afterwards secured a liberal donation for his work.

It was in an address delivered before the National Educational Association at Madison, Wisconsin, that he first attracted the attention and gained the general approval of the South. Four thousand persons were present, among them quite a number from Alabama, even from Tuskegee. They were surprised to hear the Southern people given credit for the part they had contributed to the education of the Negro. But it was in a five-minute speech delivered before the International Meeting of Christian Workers at Atlanta that he had his first opportunity to talk face to face with a Southern audience. He was in Boston when this meeting assembled, with pressing engagements taking up all the summer. To make that five-minute speech he must travel two thousand miles and within one hour after the delivery

be on his way back to Boston. He did it so acceptably that invitations came pouring upon him to make other speeches.

In the spring of 1895 he was invited to form a part of a committee from Atlanta to secure Congressional aid for the Cotton Exposition to be held in that city the following fall. Two other colored men, Bishops Abram Grant and Wesley J. Gaines were members of this committee. They both made speeches. When Washington made the final speech of twenty minutes it was so timely, so pertinent, and so eloquent that the committee of Congress decided by a unanimous vote to recommend the aid desired, and in a few days the act giving it was a law. This signal aid rendered by the colored members of the committee was appreciated by the management of the Exposition to the extent of deciding to have a Negro Building designed and erected wholly by Negro mechanics, and when the time for opening the Exposition arrived, to have a Negro as one of the speakers. Washington was selected as that representative. This was the first time in the entire history of the Negro that a member of this race had been asked to speak from the same platform with Southern men and women on any important occasion of national significance.

The opportunity, responsibility and significance involved in this acceptance may be illustrated by two stories told by Mr. Washington in his "Up from Slavery." "While en route a white man living near Tuskegee thus accosted me, 'Washington, you have spoken before the Northern white people, the Negroes of the South, and to us up-country white people in the South; but in Atlanta to-morrow, you will have before you the Northern whites, the Southern whites, and the Negroes altogether. I am afraid you have got yourself into a tight place.'" The other relates to a scene after his arrival at Atlanta: "Dat's de man of my race wat's gwine to make a speech at de Exposition to-morrow. I'se sho gwine to hear him." Pointed out at every station on the way, "the observed of all observers," the great

responsibility of the occasion impressed him and as was his custom before the crucial moment, he sought a quiet place, kneeled down and implored God's blessing upon his effort.

At last the hour arrived. Washington was introduced. The scene was one which some artist—some Tanner—will transfer with genius to canvas. All his mother's tears and prayers, the struggles of his race, their hardships, their opportunities, came pressing before him. He, their advocate, stood before the most typical American audience yet assembled on the American continent. Though in Atlanta, the blue blood of Boston was present; Southern and Northern man; black and white. No wonder that though the sun shone forth in his face he without flinching delivered the burden of his soul. When he closed a great moral victory had been won. White men native and to the manner born applauded. Fair white men of the South waved their handkerchiefs. Negro patriarchs, men who had "come down from a former generation," wept and wept. Clark Howell was certainly prophetic in his declaration, "This man's speech has wrought a moral revolution."

Booker T. Washington went forth a famous man. Seven months before, Frederick Douglass had died in the harness, pleading for the equality of rights for every man and woman, the foremost black man of the nineteenth century. That day the prophecy of Douglass, written in 1867, was realized, Booker T. Washington forged to the front as the foremost American Negro in the new dispensation of freedom through industrial opportunity.

Because of the attention focused on Washington after his Atlanta speech, he became the one man in the eye of the American public regarded as the leader of his race. Greatness was literally thrust upon him and he conducted himself in a manner that proved that he was not averse to this conspicuous position. Philanthropists like Carnegie, heads of educational institutions and politicians like McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, accepted him

as their chosen agent to deal with the ten million American citizens of African descent.

Alexander H. Stephens in writing of U. S. Grant after the meeting at Hampton Roads, said, that the silent soldier seemed to be ignorant of the immense opportunity for good or evil that would come to him in the country's history. Booker T. Washington hardly could have dreamed of the power to be wielded by him simply by becoming the great apostle of industrial education for the Negro. Whether the result of his prominence was foreseen and planned by him or not, his claim to real eminence can not be gainsaid.

Washington's subsequent career can be briefly summarized: Honors came thickly upon him. He was almost immediately invited by Dr. D. C. Gilman, then president of Johns Hopkins University, to be one of the judges of award in the department of education at the Exposition. Offers were made from Lyceum Bureaus to lecture for as high a sum as fifty thousand dollars a season, with countless invitations to deliver addresses on all conceivable subjects and places. He has spoken before such colleges as Yale, Williams, Amherst, Fisk, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, in the North, and quite as well known institutions in the South. Harvard conferred on him the degree of A.M., "the first of his race to receive an honorary degree from the oldest university in the land and this for the wise leadership of his people."[3] When Boston unveiled the Shaw Monument on Boston Common in 1897 he was the orator of the occasion. During the Jubilee week at Chicago after the war with Spain, at which President McKinley was the guest of honor, the speech of Washington was the prelude to an ovation placing him on a pedestal as elevated as that of the Nation's Chief Magistrate.

The next year some friends insisted on a trip for Mr. Washington to Europe. They arranged all the details, the steamer,

[3] C. W. Eliot, President of Harvard.

the incidental expense and the provision for Tuskegee in the meanwhile. In Europe he received distinguished consideration from such eminent Americans then abroad as President Harrison, Archbishop Ireland, General Horace Porter, "Mark Twain," Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, Justice John M. Harlan of the U. S. Supreme Court, U. S Ambassador Joseph H. Choate, and such Englishmen as James Bryce, M. P., author of "The American Commonwealth," Mrs. T. Fisher Unwin, daughter of Richard Cobden, Mrs. Clark, daughter of John Bright, and Joseph Sturge, the son of the great abolitionist who was the colleague of Whittier and Garrison, also Henry M. Stanley, the African discoverer.

The organization of the Negro Business League at Boston in 1900 may be accounted as one of the most important acts of Mr. Washington, because of its possibilities. It aims to bring the business men of the Negro race together and by the power of example stimulate the growth and development of their business activities as well as to lead to new ventures in pursuits hitherto neglected and untrodden.

"The Story of My Life," "The Future of the Negro," "Up From Slavery," "Character Building," "Working with the Hands," and "The Negro in Business" are among his published works.

He has not yet reached the heights of his achievements as a leader of his people and one of the foremost men of his country and times without regard to race.

. . . . . .

The Tuskegee Institute began with one teacher and thirty pupils. It has now, thirty-two years after, more than 2,300 acres of land, 900 of which are cultivated, 86 buildings valued at $874,943, and a productive endowment fund of nearly two million dollars. There is also in its possession several thousand acres of mineral land that yield no income. At the beginning its operating expenses were $2,000 annually granted by the State

of Alabama. The cost of operating averages more than a quarter of a million dollars annually. The student body is now composed of more than 1,600 students instead of 30 pupils, coming mainly from the lower South, but in all 36 States and Territories and 18 foreign countries.

No sketch of Mr. Washington would be complete or impartial which ignores the antagonisms and the criticisms of his policy as a leader. It is not within the purview of a biographical sidelight to assume a partisan rôle Aside from his successful advocacy of the claims of industrial education, the establishment of the Business Men's League, which has maintained an uninterrupted existence since 1900, is a work of constructive statesmanship to speak for itself.

In 1898, on the same platform with President McKinley, he recounted the military service of the Negro in all the wars of the Republic and then made a most impassioned appeal to the country for justice.

At Wilberforce University at the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in the presence of the Bishops, he made an argument for the union of the different branches of Methodism that must commend itself to all thinkers as a piece of foresighted statesmanship which all should recognize. Whatever his mistakes, these two addresses loom out and emphasize the claim we make for him as the great organizer, promoter, and executive of the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century.

JOSEPH C. PRICE

FANNY M. JACKSON COPPIN

PHILLIS WHEATLEY

XXXII

FANNY MURIEL JACKSON COPPIN

One of the first colored women to graduate from a recognized college in the United States was Fanny M. Jackson Coppin, the wife of Bishop Levi J. Coppin, 30th bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. But this is her smallest claim to distinction, for hers is excellence as educator, public speaker, and for her notable achievements as a public-spirited citizen.

She was born a slave in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, late in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. Her maternal grandfather was a Mr. Henry Orr, a free man of color; but his wife was a slave, and according to the laws of the times, their six children took the legal condition of the mother. A few years after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Mrs. Sarah Clark, her aunt, discovering that Fanny was a child of promise, saved up one hundred and seventy-five dollars and secured the girl's freedom, according to the forms of law, by paying this sum of money to the District of Columbia slaveholders, so as to incur no risk, should it be necessary to move to another community.

At fifteen she went to Newport. There began the struggle. She was not willing to depend upon her aunt. Speaking of this period she says:

"So I went to service. Oh, the hue and cry there was, when I went out to live! Even my aunt spoke of it; she had a home to offer me; but the 'slavish' element was so strong in me that I *must make myself a servant.* Ah, how those things cut me then! But I knew I was right, and I kept straight on. . . .

The lady with whom I lived allowed me one hour every other afternoon to go and recite to a person whom I paid to teach me. For this I was not allowed to go out at any other time. . . . I remained there six years, using my seven dollars a month to pay for my instruction."

She obtained employment as maid in a very distinguished family—the Calverts of Baltimore, who were then living in Rhode Island. The home of the Calverts was the resort of all the *literati* of Boston—here she acquired or rather deepened that craving for education that followed her all her life. Surrounded constantly by the most refined culture, the young servant girl sought for opportunities to study. *One hour each week* was given her to use as she would, and it was during these driblets of time that she studied vocal and instrumental music and that she prepared herself to enter the State Normal School, then under the principalship of Dana P. Colburn, author of the well-known series of arithmetics. Mrs. Calvert had no children and soon the ability, tact and graciousness of the young servant commended her to the mistress. When she was about to leave the Calvert service to enter the Normal School, Mrs. Calvert said to Fanny: "Will money keep you?" "No," replied Fanny, "I want to fit myself to help to educate my people." This dedication to her people's service became and remained the one purpose of her life, giving it a singular coherence and unity of aim.

It was a rare thing for a young colored woman to show such an ambition to obtain an education and to demonstrate her capacity for academic honors, as did Fanny Jackson. This was in the dark days before the Civil War when Kansas was a battle-ground between the friends of freedom and slavery, and the land was echoing the dictum of the Dred Scott Decision, that "A Negro had no right which a white man is bound to respect." It was then that Bishop Daniel A. Payne, whose zeal for education was well known, heard of this ambitious girl and obtained

her a scholarship which enabled her to attend Oberlin College. The young student did not rely on this aid entirely, for she taught music to the children of the college professors and thus helped to pay her way through college.

When a student at Oberlin she became more and more impressed with the gravity of her chosen work. "Whenever I stood up to recite," said she, "I felt the whole responsibility of my people resting on my shoulders. My failure was my people's failure."

It was customary at Oberlin to employ members of the advanced classes to teach students in the preparatory department. While all, colored and white, were treated alike at Oberlin, yet never was a colored pupil-teacher sent to take charge of classes where all were white. We must remember too that many of the members of the classes in the preparatory department were the children of slaveholding parents. Fanny was given a class as an experiment. Said President Finney to her: "In giving you this class, Fanny, I do not hold myself responsible for the order, or that the pupils will sit under your instruction. I send you; you must make your own way." *She* made her way. The class was a brilliant success. The success was the more pronounced, because former white pupil-teachers had signally failed in the management of this very class. Its numbers gradually increased to one hundred young white men and women and consequently became too large for the young teacher. When President Finney proposed to divide it the students refused to leave. Visitors, those friendly as well as those opposed to the race, were in daily attendance to see this novel sight. The London *Athenæum* of that time mentions the event as a noteworthy fact.

The Civil War came on apace. For a time the outcome seemed doubtful. When the tide of battle turned and freedom to the bondman was seen to be inevitable, Fanny M. Jackson and Mary M. Patterson were called to the Institute for Colored Youth,

an academy of almost college grade in the city of Philadelphia, maintained by a legacy left more than a quarter of a century previously by Richard Humphreys, a Quaker. Miss Jackson received the appointment as principal of the female department, and when, four years later, in March, 1869, President Grant appointed its principal, Ebenezer D. Bassett, Minister to Haiti, the vacancy in the Institute was filled by the promotion to the head position of the once slave girl, who first saw the light of day within the borders of the District of Columbia.

For thirty-five years her career in Philadelphia was one of intense activity, acknowledged ability as educator, and distinction as a leader in every good cause for the promotion of the betterment of the colored people of her city and the country at large. No voice was more potent than hers outside of the schoolroom; no educator shaped to better advantage more youthful minds.

Among some of the things accomplished by Mrs. Coppin, aside from her class-room work as an educator, may be credited the organization of the Colored Woman's Exchange, by means of which opportunity was given for the first time, for the public exhibition of specimens of the artistic and mechanical workmanship of the colored people of Philadelphia. Many orders for supplies and work in all of the varied lines of skill exhibited were received. The "Home for Girls and Young Women," a house which gave to young women engaged in domestic service the comforts of a home, maintained for a number of years largely by her enterprise and energy, was another practical result of her many-sided activities.

But the establishment of an Industrial School as a feature of the Institute for Colored Youth, of which she was principal, may be classed, possibly, as her most important work.

As an orator she is entitled to a very high place, indeed. A contemporary, who had ample opportunity for gauging her work in this respect, says: "Her appeals in behalf of the

colored people of her city and country have been as direct, as soul-stirring, as eloquent, as those by any man in the same behalf." When it is remembered that she had frequently appeared on the same platform with Isaiah C. Wears, John M. Langston, Robert Purvis and Frederick Douglass, such a tribute can be estimated at its true valuation. Her lectures and public addresses delivered in principal cities were given, not for pecuniary gain, but in response to a call to service. Her personality would have won her high civic recognition had she been of the other sex and race.

At a political gathering in Philadelphia . . . the mayor of the city was one of the speakers on the platform. She made one of her soul-stirring, effective speeches that those who heard her will long remember. The mayor was so touched by her earnestness and cultured mind that he purposely sought some means of showing his appreciation and appointed her—the first instance of its kind—a member of a Board of City Examiners for clerical officers.

She has acted as an interpreter of French in court, and was for a time one of the directory of the "Old Folks' Home," located in West Philadelphia.

In 1888 she visited England to attend the Missionary Congress as a representative of the Sarah Allen Mission. So eloquently did she plead the cause that the Duke of Somerset arose and commended her in glowing terms for her eloquence and the cause that she so ably represented.

In 1881 at the height of her career, she was married to Rev. Levi J. Coppin, formerly a student at the school. The service was performed in Washington at the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, in which many of her girlish days were spent, and of which Mrs. Clark, her aunt, then a resident of Washington, was an influential member. Besides the reception tendered there by friends and a host of former pupils identified with the life of Washington, there were receptions held in Baltimore, in which

Rev. Coppin was a pastor, and in Philadelphia, the scene of and center of the activities of the bride and groom for so many years.

In 1900 her husband was elected bishop and assigned to work in South Africa. There was no hesitation in her mind as to her duty, although well-meaning friends doubted whether it was wise for her to risk her health in journeying 11,000 miles to the Dark Continent. But she resigned her connection with the Institute at Philadelphia and began as ardently in South Africa the work of laying the foundation of Bethel Institute at Capetown, as at the Institute in the "City of Brotherly Love" thirty years before.

As an evidence of the world-wide influence she wielded as teacher in the Institute for Colored Youth, on her arrival in South Africa, she, to her unbounded surprise, met those who had been under her tutelage 11,000 miles away.

She did not write out her speeches and lectures, but it being her purpose to publish a work on the Science of Teaching, for which her ample notes made for her class-room work afforded a basis unlike that of the average text-book in pedagogics. She spent the last months of her life in preparing "Reminiscences of School Life and Notes on Teaching."

Certain it is that no career is more encouraging to the deserving colored woman than that of Fanny M. Jackson Coppin, so basis unlike that of the average text-book in pedagogics, she passed away January 21, 1913, at her home in Philadelphia.

XXXIII

HENRY OSAWA TANNER

In an address by Rev. William Henry Channing, dedicatory of the Miner School Building at the National Capital, the possibilities of the Negro race in the Fine Arts were foretold with all the perfect confidence of one divinely intrusted with the secrets of the future. Those who listened to this remarkable address must have been not only charmed and thrilled, but reconciled to all the galling and disheartening conditions of proscription and persecution as this seer took a peep into the future when musicians of power, poets of recognized beauty, and painters of marvelous touch would be among the heritage of this race.

At that time Paul Laurence Dunbar was clinging to his mother's skirts in Dayton, Ohio; Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was prattling in London within echo of Dr. Channing's sermons, and Henry Osawa Tanner, born at Pittsburg, June 21, 1859, when Old John Brown, for whom he was named, was prospecting near Harper's Ferry,—had just overcome his struggles between love and duty in determining his future career.

His father, Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner, editor of the *Christian Recorder,* lived near Fairmount Park in Philadelphia. One day while accompanying his father the sight of an artist painting from nature greeted their sight. "Oh, papa," exclaimed the boy, "I can do just what that man is doing!" "I know I can," he repeated with ecstasy.

This was one of the earliest revelations of the bent of the boy's mind. Paint, brushes and canvas were given him and he

became busy. One of his first sketches, still preserved in the family, was a landscape in which conventionalities of color, perspective and grouping were subordinated for other striking indications of unusual artistic talent.

Other evidences of the boy's penchant were exhibited in his fondness for mathematics and drawing. To such a degree was this shown that he was one of the few school pupils named to receive instruction in drawing.

Delicate of frame and constitution, studious at school and being the oldest child, considerable solicitude was manifested by both parents as to his future career. Quite naturally they urged him to look to the ministry; but obedient as he was in all other respects, Henry had made up his mind to be an artist and nothing else. He told his parents that though he could not gratify their wish for him to be a minister, he would do as much for their religion with his brush as he ever could do by his voice. And so the sequel has proven.

To accomplish his ambition to be an artist he was perfectly willing to make any struggle or endure any hardship. He would even wear clothes long after they should have been replaced by others,—not because he was at all slovenly in dress, but because of his independence.

He had a few or no companions except his artist friends whom he would meet at the Academy of Fine Arts while in the pursuit of his studies or his visits to the art galleries.

Sculpture strongly appealed to him and the boy frequently spent many an hour at the Zoological Park modeling from animals. So excellent was this work that it secured him privileges denied except to artists and art students.

It was at Atlantic City late in the eighties where the public first learned of his artistic talent.

After receiving instructions from such celebrated artists as Thomas Eakins and Thomas Hovenden, and having realized several hundred dollars from the sale of his pictures and bits of

sculpture, he went to Paris in 1891 where, under the tutelage of Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant, he made steady progress in his art studies to such a degree that he became known to the art world as one of the foremost of American artists.

During his life in Paris his earliest studies partook there as in America largely of his environment, as a glance at their titles shows, but these are not those on which his reputation as a painter will rest. They were nevertheless training his powers in a direction and in a field in which he stands out as one of the first artists of France and Europe.

A canvas bearing his name "The Music Lesson" was admitted to the Salon in 1894 and when he gained an entrance the next year, with "The Young Sabot Maker," his picture was given an obscure position, but it met the eye of Gérôme, the great artist, who insisted and secured for it a position on the line. Afterwards Gérôme, who had not met Mr. Tanner, saw him and told the rising artist what he had done.

In 1896 Mr. Tanner won an honorable mention. Before that honorable mention another American artist strolling through the Salon with some friends pointed out excellences that the jury later confirmed. That artist accordingly raised himself in their estimation.

The next year, 1897, found Mr. Tanner at the Salon with the "Raising of Lazarus," a painting that at once attracted the attention of the public and the critics for its dramatic power, its unconventional, yet graphic treatment. It is thus described by the Paris correspondent of the New York *Times:*

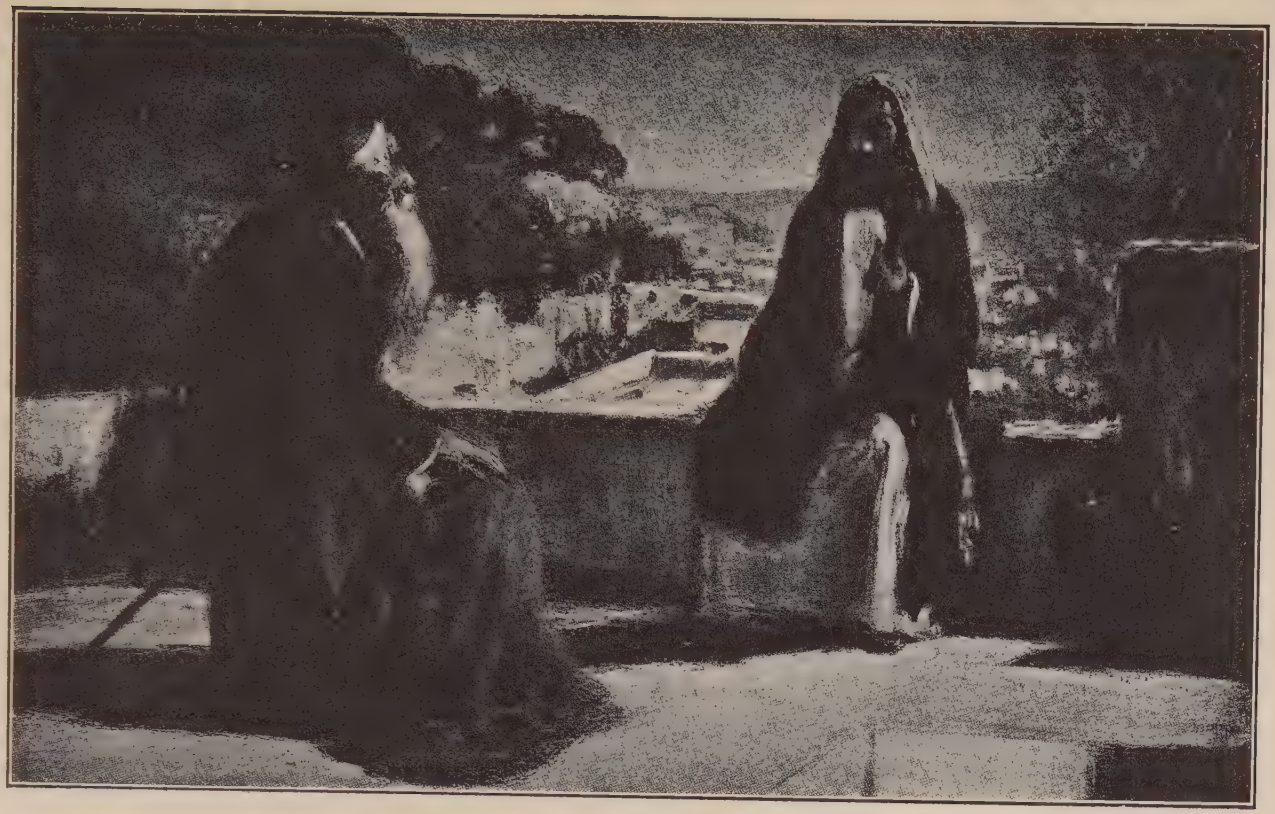
"He places the scene of his painting in the dark cavern of Bethany, the immediate foreground at the right showing Lazarus himself, half reclining on the stone floor, as he struggles back to life. The mark of death is upon him, and the grave clothes show white and livid in the gloom of the little cavern at Bethany. Without being theatrical or sensational, the representation of

this miracle is powerful and appealing. The conception of Christ is reverent, strong and tender. The light that falls on His breast and on His face makes Him stand out prominently. The figures of Mary and Martha are skillfully placed in contrasting attitudes. The surrounding throng of Jews and apostles grouped with admirable clearness and simplicity, offers further evidence of Mr. Tanner's powers and especially of the completeness of his enthusiasm in the subject he chose. The mysterious light that envelops the spot altogether heightens the effect of the painting."

The picture received the Gold Medal, was purchased by the French Government and placed in the Louvre. Mr. Tanner had now "arrived" in the vestibule of the Temple of Art the portals of which will swing back as he passes from the ideals of life to the border and limitless vistas of eternity.

His next celebrated picture, "The Annunciation" was exhibited at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia in 1898 and was purchased for the Wilstach Collection in the Memorial Building at Fairmount Park. This picture excited quite as much interest as his "Lazarus." It was of a subject that has frequently been treated by artists, but his interpretation of the theme gave it new life. The criticism in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* is a specimen. It runs thus:

" 'The Annunciation' in the hands of Mr. Tanner is as new as if the world had never seen it before. There is no sign of the conventional angel bearing a lily, no idealized woman in a floating robe with her hands crossed and her eyes cast down. There is only the plain interior of an ordinary cottage in Palestine. A young girl, evidently a typical representative of the poorer class of her country, is seated on the edge of the bed, from which she has been roused. She has folded a long, loose gown of some dark stuff around her, and is looking very intently, with a listening expression, across the room to where a bright light is shining out of the gloom. The general tone of the pic-



Christ and Nicodemus, by H. O. Tanner.

ture is a rich, glowing brown, suggestive of Rembrandt, yet different. It makes all the other pictures in the room look hard and glaring. It is impossible to put into words the beauty and strength of this picture of Mr. Tanner."[1]

"Judas" was next exhibited at and purchased by the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburg, and in the same year, 1899, "Nicodemus" having won the Walter Lippincott prize of $300 was added by purchase to the collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. This picture was painted from a housetop in Jerusalem.

At the Universal Exposition at Paris, in 1900, he received a second-class medal: a second-class medal the next year at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo for "Daniel in the Lion's Den," and also a second-class medal for the same canvas at the Louisiana Exposition at St. Louis. In the catalogue of the Art Department this picture is described as follows:

" 'Daniel in the Lion's Den' shows a large subterranean apartment dimly lighted by square openings in the roof, through which the daylight illumines square patches on the floor and portions of the wall. Daniel stands in the principal light space, the lower portion of his body in the light, the upper part, including the upturned face, being in deep shadow. A lion standing near the prophet is partly in light; the other beasts are in shadow except where a further opening in the roof gives another small square of light. The attitude of the man expresses faith and confidence that no harm can come to him. The gleaming eyes and nervous expressions of the lions indicate an unwilling restraint which they cannot understand but are powerless to overcome. In the treatment of this low-toned composition, the artist has been singularly fortunate in keeping his color clear and his shadows transparent. There is just enough definition, just enough mystery. The shadows are luminous, and the coloring is neither heavy nor muddy."[2]

[1] Springfield (Mass.) *Republican.*
[2] The Art Department Ill. Univ. Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.

"The Disciples at Emmaus," described as a work in which the mingled joy and bewilderment of the two disciples, the supernatural personality and divine authority of their Master are depicted with wonderful power, was awarded the Second medal at the Salon of 1906, purchased by the French Government and also placed in the Luxembourg Gallery. In the same year when the annual exhibition at Chicago was opened it was found that the award for the best painting on exhibition, the N. W. Harris prize of $300 was given to Henry O. Tanner for "The Disciples at the Tomb," described as the most impressive and most distinguished work of art which had been produced that season.

But "The Wise and Foolish Virgins" at the Paris Salon in 1908 has elicited from the art critics the most unstinted praise of his work and acknowledgment as to his place in the forefront of living artists. This is a picture ten feet by fifteen feet in which appear twelve life-size figures. The New York *Herald,* Paris edition, says: "The viewpoint of the critics has been diverse, but none of them fails to commend Mr. Tanner's work, and some of them do so in unmeasured terms, going so far as to pronounce it the best picture that has been seen at the annual exhibition for several years." The *Herald* also adds that "it is noteworthy that the Tanner painting has a position in the Salon second to none except the place which is held by Detaille, who has the place of honor." It is also characterized as "the work of a sincere artist whose sentiment has always prevailed over his technique, with subtle power, great purity of line and thorough charm."

The *Echo de Paris* goes more into detail than the *Herald.* It says, speaking of the human figures, "they are exquisite, especially the foolish virgins. The drapery, airy, gay, white garments which undulate in innumerable folds at every step is all full of exquisite and very picturesque details. The necklace of red coral, the green scarf, a blue shade in the silky paleness of the scarf, and such easy, free and harmonious treatment."

The *Matin* brings to its criticism a freedom from the preconceived impressions of one familiar with Tanner's work, for the writer says, "Where does he come from? He is certainly odd in his way. Note how he makes the costumes undulate with an expression peculiar to themselves. Some may comment on him lightly. For my part, I find this unknown astonishing."

But *L'Intransignent* pays him possibly the highest tribute. It says: "His palette is somber with golden half tints. He always brings out of his works an admirable dramatic sentiment given full value and fully expressed. He could illustrate Shakespeare better than any. In his middle ground are seen secondary scenes that greatly augment the interest of the principal. The faces express exactly the idea of the subject. The atmosphere gains much thereby. An impression is given that something is taking place before the eyes and something of a vital character. 'The Wise and Foolish Virgins' is a theme that has often been treated, but Mr. Tanner has given it a new aspect in making it melodramatic."

All these notices should be sufficient to show his eminence as an artist among artists in the very center of the art world.

His popularity is assured, for no sooner is a picture from his brush ready for exhibition than there are eager and competing buyers. It would be impossible for our artist to give an exhibition of his paintings, for they are scattered in the galleries of the Old and the New World. At the present writing "The Wise and Foolish Virgins" is the only one of his celebrated pictures in his possession. Several years ago he painted for *The Ladies' Home Journal* a series of four pictures called the "Mothers of the Bible," Sarah, Mary, Hagar and Rachel, which will be found reproduced in that monthly.

Among the earlier works to attract the attention of his home town may be named "The Bagpipe Lesson," which portrays a workman seated on a wheelbarrow watching the struggles of a youth to produce music from that instrument. "The Banjo Les-

son,'' now in the Cleveland Library at Hampton and familiar to all visitors to that famous school, similar in subject but different in race and type, illustrates the artist's versatility. Other noted products of his brush are: ''Ruth,'' ''Judas after the Betrayal,'' ''Christ at Home of Mary and Martha,'' ''Return of the Holy Women,'' ''The Jews' Wailing Place,'' ''The Flight into Egypt,'' ''He Vanished out of Their Sight,'' ''Christ before the Doctors,'' ''Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet,'' and ''Job and his Three Friends.'' The themes of Mr. Tanner are by no means original, but unlike the average artist he has visited the Holy Land again and again and made himself familiar with its customs, its people and country, so that in all his later pictures and his major pieces drawn from biblical history, he has given world-wide types, but the scenes and background are strictly Oriental. He spent the winter of 1907-08 in Algiers.

Some of the distinctive characteristics of his art are the atmosphere of his pictures, their reverent tone, and the subtle power that makes one feel the thoughts he portrays. His pictures are so clean-cut, thorough and pure that to use another's words, ''we gaze upon them with a grateful sense of refreshment. The luminous quality of his paint removes us quickly from commonplace crudity and garishness like the difference between the rich vegetable dyes of the Oriental rug and the miserable aniline colors which we see in cheap carpet.''

America and the Negro claim Mr. Tanner because, though a resident of France, he received his first inspiration and instruction in the United States, where his kindred still live. On his father's side he is Pennsylvania to the core. Through his mother, he traces his ancestry to the immediate neighborhood of Virginia where John Brown paid the penalty of his life because of aggressive detestation of slavery. By a singular coincidence Thomas Hovenden, one of his early instructors, has seized the scene where John Brown kisses a colored child on his way to the gallows for one of his celebrated pictures, and his other

early teacher, Thomas Eakins, was singularly noted for his success as a delineator of Negro types. These two men and their ideals must have fired Mr. Tanner's soul, and when he did not receive appreciation from those of his own race that should have been given him, he determined to go abroad where his facilities and his scope would not be handicapped by color or race. In France, he is not at all fettered, either by race indifference, race depreciation, or race prejudice. He stands on his merits, and on these he has risen to world-wide eminence. He is a member of a number of art societies and a corresponding member of the American Negro Academy.

XXXIV

JOHN FRANCIS COOK, SECOND

THE location and organization of the Federal Government of the United States early occupied the attention of the new Nation. It was in 1792 that Andrew Ellicott, a surveyor of Maryland, succeeding to the authority given to Pierre L'Enfant supervised the laying out of the ten-miles-square over which as the Capital of the New Nation by Article I, Section VIII, paragraph 17, of the Federal Constitution, Congress was to have exclusive jurisdiction.

In the second census taken in 1800, there was a population of 14,093 in Washington, of which 4,027 were colored, and of these 783 were free persons. One of the first considerations of the New Government of the District of Columbia, as it was called, was the establishment of a system of public education. This provision was not contemplated for the entire population of school age, but only for the whites. In 1804 this system was inaugurated. Notwithstanding the colored youth were ignored, there was at that early day public spirit and forethought on the part of three colored men which gave opportunity for the instruction of colored youth. In 1807 these men, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin and Moses Liverpool, all formerly slaves, out of their own earnings erected a building for the instruction of these youth. This building was located where the present Providence Hospital now stands, and was used for the purpose of its succeeding to the authority given to Pierre L'Enfant, supervised the laying out of the ten-mile square over which as the slave population. With varied success and under differ-

ent leadership, first by individuals and then by organizations, the education of the colored people of the District of Columbia was continued for more than half a century. The difficulties were many in the way of their education. Colored youth were compelled to journey to and from their homes through back streets and across the commons of the Capital to evade the physical and prejudiced opposition which daily confronted them. Washington was also a storm center of the anti-slavery agitation.

The debates in Congress over the Missouri Compromise in 1819-1820, and the discussion in the public press owing to the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822, the Nat Turner outbreak of 1831 and the organization of the American anti-slavery Society of 1833 were reflected in local mobs and riots.

The Resolute Beneficial Society in 1818 organized for the specific purpose of promoting the education of their race. They used the Bell Schoolhouse built in 1807. Then came a school by an Englishman, next one by Mrs. Anne Maria Hall, at one time in Israel Church. In Georgetown in 1810 was one by Mrs. Mary Billing, an Englishwoman. Then Henry Smothers, a pupil of Mrs. Billing, opened a school and subsequently erected a building for the purpose on Fourteenth and H Streets, Northwest. John W. Prout succeeded him in 1825 and conducted there a school which, governed by a board of trustees, was virtually a free school for two or three years. It was then called the Columbian Institute. John F. Cook came in charge of this school in 1834 and with the exception of a brief interval as the victim of a riot, continued it until his death in 1855.

In the sixty years intervening between 1807 and 1862, when by act of Congress, provision was made for colored youth, this man, John Francis Cook, stands forth the most conspicuous figure. His leadership was not alone manifested in the education of a talented group; it was exhibited both in religious matters and in secular affairs. He was one of the organizers of

Union Bethel Church in 1838, which, nearly fifty years later, became the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church; organizer and first pastor in 1841 of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, one of the foremost churches of that denomination in the country; he was one of the charter members of Union Friendship Lodge No. 891, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and of the Harmony Cemetery Association, and was also one of the first Ministers' Council organized by Daniel A. Payne.

At his death, the mantle as educator which fell from his shoulders, was taken up by his two sons, John F. and George F. T. Cook, who had been trained at Oberlin and gained their experience as his assistants.

For half a century these two men were scarcely less conspicuous than their sire for their personal dignity, their consecrated public service, their lofty ideals, and their unimpeachable character, all of which combined commanded for them respect by all classes of citizens and by both races. While these traits were common to the two, they carved out such distinct careers that separate and independent treatment is a desert to their work.

. . . . . .

John F. Cook, Second, was born in Washington, September 21, 1833. His early years were spent without special incident. After teaching for some years in the school established by his father, he taught for a brief period in New Orleans and until the outbreak of the Civil War.

In 1867 he accepted a clerkship in the office of the Collector of Taxes in his native city. The next year he became a member of the Board of Aldermen and in 1868 he was elected Register of the City. In 1874 he was nominated to the Collectorship of Taxes by President Grant and confirmed by the Senate, a position held by him through the administration of Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur, until the accession of the Democratic Party by the election of Grover Cleveland caused his resignation.

Other positions held by him included the Grandmastership of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for ten terms, eight of them in succession, and a trusteeship of Howard University for thirty-five years, during part of which he was a member of its Executive Committee. Three times he was chosen as delegate to the National Convention of the Republican Party. He served also as a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children and of the Board of Trustees of the Harmony Cemetery. After having reached threescore years and ten, he was appointed a member of the local board of education, from its reorganization in 1906, until his resignation on account of failing health a few months before his death in 1910. His public spirit was further shown by his presidency of the Samuel Coleridge-Taylor Choral Association, a musical organization which has rendered with great success "Hiawatha" and "The Atonement" by that eminent Africo-English composer.

George F. T. Cook was not attracted by the allurements of politics, but he remained in the service of education first as instructor, then as superintendent.

The next month after the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia on May 21, 1862, Congress enacted a law calling for ten per cent of the taxes levied on the property of colored persons, to be set apart for the purpose of initiating a system of primary education for the colored youth of the District of Columbia. After a lapse of two years, one teacher, Miss Emma V. Brown, who became Mrs. Henry P. Montgomery, was appointed teacher at a salary of $400. This sum proving insufficient to develop the system, additional legislation was secured July 26, 1866, giving a pro rata of all municipal school funds to a board of colored trustees. This at once gave the schools an impetus.

Upon the inauguration of the public school system and his installation therein as superintendent, a number of his former

pupils were among his assistants as a nucleus of the corps of teachers. Under this superintendence which with an interval of one year, began in 1868 and continued to June, 1900, the system grew to be the largest and best for the colored race in the United States. In 1869 there were 50 teachers, 25 of whom were white and 25 colored with an average attendance of 2,532.

In the school year 1899-1900, his last year of service, there were under his independent superintendence, in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, 352 teachers with 112 pupils in the Normal School, 700 in the high school, 3,307 in grammar grades, 8,233 in the primary departments, and 392 in the kindergartens, a total of 12,748 pupils. These were housed in 23 owned and 3 rented buildings in which there was an aggregate of 227 class rooms.

No other colored educator anywhere in the United States has enjoyed or wielded such an influence, and no white instructor has molded the education of as many colored youth as he. For the more than thirty years his position as superintendent was an independent and responsible one. The appropriations for the schools being based on his estimates and largely in accordance with his recommendations. As a matter of fact he was the first and only colored superintendent of the colored schools of Washington and Georgetown.

A most interesting fact in the evolution of these schools is their separate management until the beginning of the twentieth century. This became essential, if not indispensable to their growth, and development; for at the commencement of these schools, there were both indifference and open hostility towards them on the part of the white school trustees. In the winter of 1868-69 after the legislation for a pro rata division of the school fund had assured their expansion, a bill was passed without debate in both houses of Congress repealing the provision for the separate management by the colored trusteees, who at that time were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and vesting their

authority in the board appointed by the Municipality, which had the management of the white schools. The colored people were alarmed by the passage of this bill, especially because of the method by which the measure was rushed through Congress. They held public meetings in different churches and expressed most emphatically their opposition to the change. The first meeting held at Israel A. M. E., now C. M. E., Church, was presided over by John F. Cook and the final one at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church was addressed among others, by Rev. J. Sella Martin, the pastor, one of the most talented orators the colored race has developed.

The resolutions adopted took unusually high ground. They called for free schools and equal school rights. They deprecated any legislation that did not abolish *in toto* the existing system built on distinctions in race and color. Especially was the opposition focused on the bill under consideration that transferred the powers of the board of colored trustees to those of the Municipality, because it would be optional with the white trustees to continue colored schools and subject them to distracting influences.

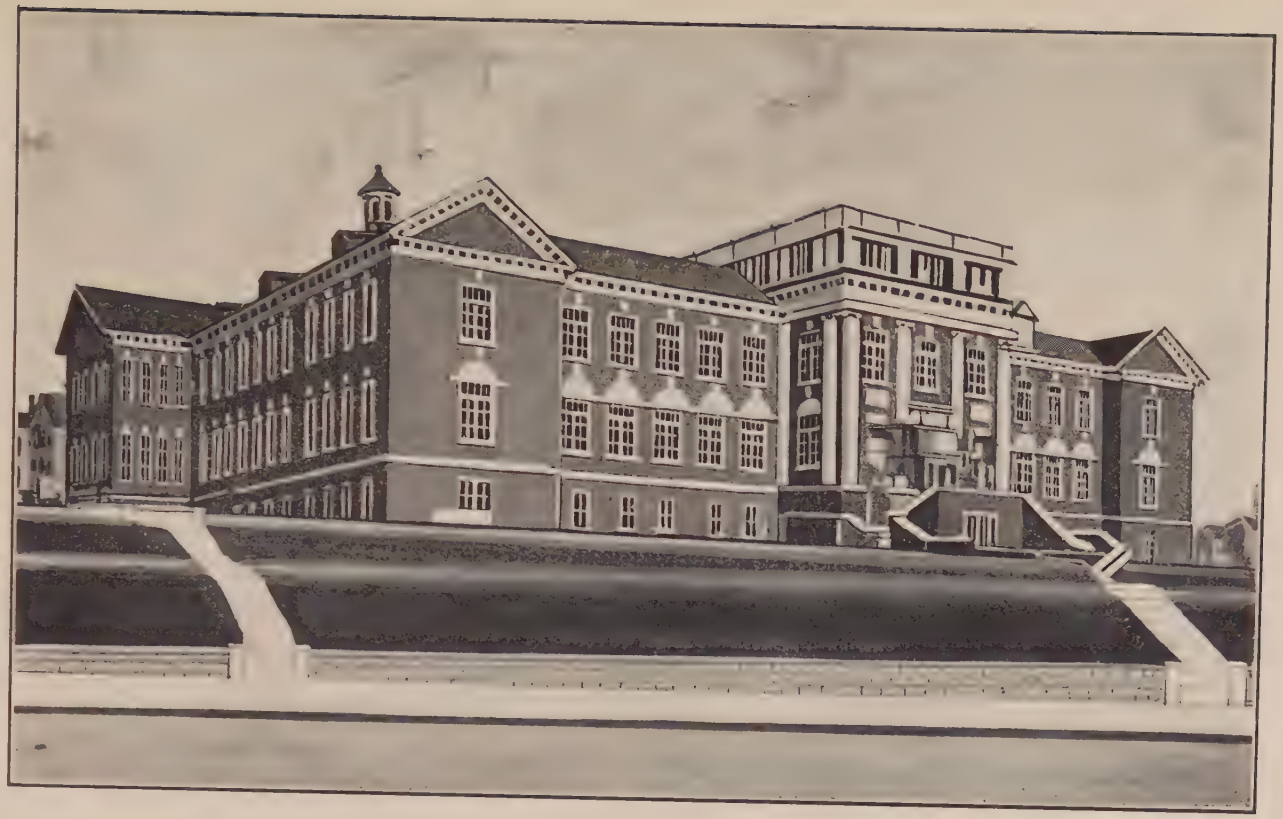
When the measure came to the President, Andrew Johnson, he gave the matter such consideration that he submitted the preamble and resolutions to Congress without affixing his signature to the bill. And the scheme to take the control of the colored schools from their own trustees failed until the reorganization thirty-one years later in 1900.

Mr. John W. F. Smith for several years closely associated with Mr. Cook in the administration of the schools thus sets forth Mr. Cook's unique work in the cause of education.

"Scarcely had the smoke of battle lifted than he was called to the grandest work ever given to man—the establishment upon firm and sure foundation of a system of education here. 'The hour and the man' met in Mr. Cook. Years of actual teaching in elementary schools well fitted him to lay hold wisely and

skillfully upon school problems. The practical trend of his efforts actuated his teachers, and solid substantial training and teaching resulted.

"During the public school period he was associated with such efficient superintendents as J. Ormond Wilson and W. B. Powell, respectively superintendents of the white schools of the District of Columbia. Mr. Wilson, as is well known, was a great organizer; Mr. Powell, a great thinker, and through his addresses a stimulator of the teachers. Mr. Cook was both an organizer and thinker, but not a talker. By intimate relationship with the teachers in the schoolroom and by frequent conferences with them in his office, he stimulated and inspired them. His executive ability was notable as witnessed by the successful management of a rapidly developing system of schools. The selection of sites for new schools, all financial matters, requisitions for all books and supplies, and innumerable other details devolved upon his office. Thus he was both business manager and educator."



George F. T. Cook Normal School No. 2, Washington, D. C.

XXXV

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN

THE career of Edward Wilmot Blyden, who died February 7, 1912, at Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, illustrates very graphically several facts. First, the difficulties which the American Negro had to encounter in the last half of the nineteenth century; Second, how these frequently stimulated the activities of the individual who is determined to make the best of his opportunities; Third, how they become at times like withes of straw as handicaps either to dwarf the intellectual, moral or physical growth of the individual.

Blyden was born August 3, 1832, on the Island of St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies. His parents were of pure Negro stock, of the Eboe tribe and were members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Rev. John P. Knox, Blyden's teacher, an American Missionary of the same denomination perceiving that the youth had unusual intellectual capacity, advised him to pursue a collegiate course in the United States. To fulfill this design the youth came in 1850 to New York but found admission to the colleges to which he applied denied him on account of race. This was just after the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law when public excitement was at fever heat, manifesting its opposition in many ways against the individual as well as the class. It had been Blyden's purpose on the completion of his studies to settle in Africa, but the denial of the opportunity determined him to go at once to that distant land.

He landed in Liberia, January 26, 1851, and became a pupil in the Alexander High School at Monrovia. Such was the assiduity with which he applied himself to study that he soon be-

came one of the instructors and in 1858 its principal. When Liberia College was started in 1862, he was made professor of languages. In this year he visited the United States. Dr. Crummell, then a Missionary in Liberia, was also in America. While in this country, Blyden published his first work, "Liberia's Offering." The author recalls a visit by Blyden to the Institute for Colored Youth upon which the young African scholar in the course of an address to the pupils expressed in unmistakable language his contempt for the attitude of the American Negro with respect to his servile condition and the popular indifference in which he was held. Said Blyden: "I would make my mark. I would do something to demand the attention of the American people, if I had to burn the Astor House down." Benjamin Coates, the Quaker merchant, a trustee of the school and a friend of Liberia, interrupted and attempted to rebuke the speaker, but Blyden in his calm manner rejoined, "I don't mean to make marks like they do down South." Another incident was a confirmation in the Church of the Crucifixion, Right Reverend Alonzo Potter, Bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, officiated while in the chancel, though of a different communion, Dr. Blyden was honored with a seat.

In 1864 because of his influence in Liberian politics, which the world-wide traveler, Sir H. H. Johnston, said was almost from the beginning of his citizenship and a result of his exceptionally good education, Blyden was appointed Secretary of State, the duties of which he performed in addition to his educational work at the college. He was not successful, nevertheless, in a movement to amend the Liberian Constitution of 1847 which made Liberia an independent nation. With a view to improve his knowledge of the Arabic language, Dr. Blyden made a journey to Egypt, Syria and Palestine. His experiences in this tour he published in "From West Africa to Palestine." In 1871 he resigned his college professorship and spent two years in Sierra Leone. While here he was entrusted by the British Gov-

ernment with two important diplomatic missions to native chiefs, one result of which was the negotiation of treaties that added to the territory of the province. Upon the completion of this special work, he returned to Liberia to accept an appointment as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia at the Court of St. James. 1880 once more finds him in America, this time as a representative to the Presbyterian General Assembly at Madison, Wis. On his way thither he visited Chicago during the meeting of the Republican National Convention which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. Here Blyden met representative Negroes from the South, an opportunity which opened the way for visiting many cities in this section and for invitations to preach and lecture on the relation of the American Negro and Africa. His appearances were before large and appreciative audiences who listened to him with profound respect if not with enthusiasm and admiration. Several of these addresses were collected in "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race," which is regarded as his most important literary work. The American Colonization Society at this period elected him as Vice President and on not a few occasions he aimed to convince his audiences that it was the duty of the American Negro to return to Africa and there build up an independent civilization.

On his return to assume the duties of the college presidency, the call to which was extended to him during his stay in America, he took with him two of the most thoroughly trained and strongest intellects of the race, Hugh M. Browne and T. McCants Stewart, shortly after their graduation from Princeton Seminary. Their connection with Liberia and its college was of the briefest period.

In 1884 Dr. Blyden resigned from the college to take up educational work among the Mohammedans. In 1892 he was again appointed Liberian representative at the Court of St. James.

As linguistic scholar, Dr. Blyden ranked deservedly high, for he possessed a working knowledge of the French, German, Italian and Spanish among modern languages and of Hebrew, Greek and Latin among the classics, to which must be added a critical familiarity with the Arabic.

While in London, he was elected Honorary Member of the Athenæum Club, Fellow of the American Philological Society and Corresponding and Honorary Member of the Society of Sciences and Letters of Bengal. Several colleges conferred on him honorary degrees, among them D.D. by Lafayette and Hamilton Colleges and LL.D. by Lincoln University. On the organization of the American Negro Academy in 1897, he was elected one of its first corresponding members.

Some of the most distinguished scholars of both continents, such as Gladstone, Lord Brougham, Herbert Spencer, Lord Salisbury, R. Bosworth Smith, Charles Dickens, Stafford Brooke, the Earl of Derby and Charles Sumner included Dr. Blyden among their correspondents. Lord Brougham during a speech made June 25, 1860, before the House of Lords referred to a letter in his possession from Dr. Blyden that contained a high estimate of the eminent qualities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was then no less than the great commoner, William Ewart Gladstone.

Other works bearing the authorship of Dr. Blyden besides those elsewhere mentioned were "The African Problem and Other Discourses," "West Africa before Europe," and numerous monographs. Because of his services in the field of literature, he enjoyed a pension in his declining years.

James Carmichael Smith, Esq. (retired), who is familiar with conditions in the West Indies, the United States and the West Coast of Africa, says:

"The life and work of the late Edward Wilmot Blyden, D.D., have attracted the attention of Europeans and Africans as one of the most conspicuous expressions and manifestations of the be-

lief that a man of unmixed African ancestry possesses the mental capacity, the intellectual and imaginative power of acquiring and assimilating alike the literary culture of the ancient civilization of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews; and of the modern civilizations of the Anglo-Saxons, the Latins and the Arabs. . . . He must be regarded as one of the first fruits of a maturing literary harvest which in the fulness of time will be ingathered and which will then reveal to all mankind the viewpoint, the outlook, and the ideals of the Westernized Africans of America and the West Indies; and also of the Westernized Africans of the Continent of Africa who have lived throughout all of their generation in Africa, governed and surrounded mainly by Pagan and Mohammedan religious influences and by African laws and institutions."

APPENDIX A

Holly

The death of Bishop Theodore Holly, March 22, 1911, at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, recalls the career of Washington's most distinguished Negro. He was born in 1829 of Roman Catholic parents. His father, a native of Saint Mary's County, Maryland, was one of the laborers employed in the building of the Capitol. Young Holly learned the shoemaker's trade, found his way north and finally became ordained in 1850 priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was at one time rector in a western New York parish, then in Michigan and in Canada, ultimately becoming rector of Saint Luke's P. E. Church at New Haven, Connecticut. He was active in the conventions regularly held by the colored men of the North in these dark days. The enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 threw the colored people of the North in a spirit of unrest and the burning question was, What must we do to better our condition—migrate to Canada, to Africa, the West Indies or Central America?

In 1874 he was consecrated Right Reverend Bishop of Haiti by Rt. Rev. John Williams, D.D., in Grace Church, New York. He worked with singular zeal to advance the cause of Christianity in his adopted home, visiting his native city at rare intervals, where relatives still reside, preaching both at St. Luke's and St. Mary's P. E. Church. His last visit to Washington was in 1901.

The distinguished prelate was also a recognized Masonic author whose contributions appeared in some of the leading fraternal periodicals of the United States, although the editors had not the slightest suspicion that their brilliant contributor was a Negro.

On the occasion of his one visit to Great Britain to attend the Second Lambeth Conference, the bishop, by invitation of the late Dean Stanley, preached in Westminster Abbey on St. James Day, a most eloquent sermon, extracts from the peroration of which went the rounds of the English-speaking world:

"And now on the shores of Old England, the cradle of that Anglo-Saxon Christianity by which I have been in part at least illuminated, standing beneath the vaulted roof of this monumental pile redolent with the piety of by-gone generations during so many ages; in the presence of the 'Storied urn and animated bust' that hold the sacred ashes and commemorate the buried grandeur of so many illustrious personages, I catch a fresh inspiration and new impulse of the divine missionary spirit of our common Christianity; and here in the presence of God, of angels and of men, on this day sacred to the memory of an apostle whose blessed name was called over me at my baptism, and as I lift up my voice for the first, and perhaps the last, time in any of England's sainted shrines, I dedicate myself anew to the work of God, of the Gospel of Christ and of the salvation of my fellow-men in the far-distant isle of the Caribbean Sea that has become the chosen field of my special labors.

"O Thou Savior Christ, Son, who when Thou wast spurned by the Jews of the living race of Shem, and who when delivered up without cause by the Romans of the race of Japhet, on the day of Thy Crucifixion hadst Thy ponderous cross borne to Golgotha's summit on the stalwart shoulders of Simon, the Cyrenian, of the race of Ham; I pray Thee, O precious Savior, remember that forlorn, despised and rejected race, whose son bore Thy cross, when Thou shalt come in the power and majesty of Thy eternal kingdom to distribute Thy crowns of everlasting glory! And give to me then, not a place at Thy right hand or at Thy left, but the place of a gatekeeper at the entrance of the Holy City, the Holy Jerusalem, that I may behold my redeemed brethren, the saved of the Lord, entering therein to be partakers with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of all the joys of Thy glorious and everlasting Kingdom."

APPENDIX B

An Early Incident of the Civil War

Robert Smalls of Beaufort, S. C., achieved the greatest distinction of any Negro during the Civil War by turning over to the United States the Steamer *Planter*. The facts of this incident are set forth in reports by committees of several Congresses as follows:

On May 13, 1862, the Confederate Steamer *Planter,* the special dispatch boat of General Ripley, the Confederate post commander at Charleston, S. C., was taken by Robert Smalls, under the following circumstances from the wharf at which she was lying, carried safely out of Charleston, N. C. harbor, and delivered to one of the vessels of the Federal fleet then blockading that port.

On the day previous, May 12, the *Planter,* which had for two weeks been engaged in removing guns from Cole's Island to James Island, returned to Charleston. That night all the officers went ashore and slept in the city, leaving on board a crew of eight men, all colored. Among them was Robert Smalls, who was virtually the pilot of the boat, although he was only called a wheelman, because at that time no colored man could have, in fact, been made a pilot.

For some time previous he had been watching for an opportunity to carry into execution a plan he had conceived to take the *Planter* to the Federal fleet. This, he saw, was as good a chance as he would ever have to do so, and therefore he determined not to lose it. Consulting with the balance of the crew, Smalls found that they were willing to cooperate with him, although two of them afterwards concluded to remain behind. The design was hazardous in the extreme. The boat would have to pass beneath the guns of the forts in the harbor. Failure and detection would have been certain death. Fearful the venture, but it was made. The daring resolution had been formed, and under command of Robert Smalls wood was taken aboard, steam was put on, and with her valuable cargo of guns and ammunition, intended for Fort Ripley, a new fortification just constructed in the harbor, about two o'clock in the morning the *Planter* silently moved off from her dock, steamed up to North Atlantic wharf, where Smalls' wife and two children, together with four other women and one other child, and also three men, were waiting to embark.

All these were taken on board, and then at 3:25 A. M., May 13, the *Planter* started on her perilous adventure, carrying nine men, five women, and three children. Passing Fort Johnson, the *Planter's* steam whistle blew the usual salute and she proceeded down the bay. Approaching Fort Sumter, Smalls stood in the pilot house leaning out of the window, with his arms folded across his breast, after the manner of Captain Relay, the commander of the boat, and his head covered with

the huge straw hat which Captain Relay commonly wore on such occasions.

The signal, required to be given by all steamers passing out, was blown as coolly as if General Ripley was on board, going out on a tour of inspection. Sumter answered by signal, "All right," and the *Planter* headed toward Morris Island, then occupied by Hatch's light artillery, and passed beyond the range of Sumter's guns before anybody suspected anything was wrong. When at last the *Planter* was obviously going toward the Federal fleet off the bar, Sumter signaled toward Morris Island to stop her, but it was too late. As the *Planter* approached the Federal fleet, a white flag was displayed, but this was not at first discovered and the Federal steamers, supposing the Confederate rams were coming to attack them, stood out to deep water. But the ship *Onward,* Captain Nichols, which was not a steamer, remained, opened her ports, and was about to fire into the *Planter,* when she noticed the flag of truce. As soon as the vessels came within hailing distance of each other, the *Planter's* errand was explained. Captain Nichols then boarded her and Smalls delivered the *Planter* to him. From the *Planter* Smalls was transferred to the *Augusta,* the flagship off the bar, under the command of Captain Parrott, by whom the *Planter,* with Smalls and her crew, were sent to Port Royal to Rear Admiral DuPont, then in command of the Southern Squadron.

Smalls was made pilot and did service on the *Crusader,* the *Planter* also, and the Monitor *Keokuk* on which he was during the memorable attack on Fort Sumter, April 7, 1863. The *Keokuk* was struck ninety-six times, nineteen shots passing. Feeling very keenly the sting sustained in the loss of the *Planter,* the Confederates made a very hot fire upon her. The same report from which the findings are extracted says:

"Upon one occasion Captain Nickerson became demoralized and left the pilot house and secured himself in the coal bunker. Smalls was on the deck and finding out that the Captain had deserted his post, entered the pilot house, took command of the boat and carried her safely out of the reach of the guns. For this conduct he was promoted by order of General Gilmore, commanding the Department of the South, to the rank of Captain of the *Planter,* which was used as a supply boat along the coast until the end of the war. In September, 1866, he carried

his boat to Baltimore, where she was put out of commission and sold."

House of Representatives
55th Congress 2d Session
Report No. 120.

APPENDIX C

The Somerset Case

In 1771, a slave, named James Somerset, was taken by his master from Virginia to England. The slave refused to serve his master there. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by Chief Justice Mansfield, and the question whether Somerset was free or slave was finally brought before the full court. The court declared him *free,* and held that slavery was contrary to the laws of England, because positive law was necessary to establish a condition of slavery [1] and England had made no such law. This decision inspired Cowper's lines:

> Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country and their shackles fall.

"The Story of the Slave," see, also, "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," William Goodell, for an elaborate discussion of this case.

APPENDIX D

The Amistad Captives

About the last of April, 1839, a cargo of three or four hundred men and boys, and two hundred women and children kidnapped as African slaves were landed in Havana where they were sold. Joseph Ruiz bought forty-nine, and Pedro Montez bought the children, three little girls, and put them on the schooner, *The Amistad,* and sailed June 27th, for Puerta Prince, Cuba, a few hundred miles from Havana. When two or three days out they were beaten severely and threatened with death.

[1] Constitutional History and Government of the United States. J. S. Landon, p. 176.

On the fifth night the slaves under the leadership of Joseph Cinquez or Cinque attacked and slew the captain and cook with knives such as were used to cut sugar cane and took charge of the further direction of affairs. They spared the lives of Ruiz and Montez on condition that they would return them to Africa, their native land. The Spaniards agreed. They steered the ship for Africa by day, but at night the ship's course was turned towards America. In this way after a couple of months, during which they were boarded several times by different vessels, once by a schooner from Kingston, Jamaica, they were finally boarded by Lieutenant Gedney of the United States brig *Washington,* off the coast of New London. On being captured Cinque leaped overboard, but was finally induced to return to the ship. The report of their capture created a sensation throughout the country. The case was brought before the United States courts, and for a couple of years it occupied public attention. Among the lawyers that appeared in the case were the venerable John Quincy Adams and Roger Sherman Baldwin, both in the behalf of the captives, who were finally released by a decision of the United States Supreme Court that they were not pirates. The release of the captives was the occasion of much rejoicing by the abolitionists. Cinque and his principal men appeared before large and enthusiastic audiences in several northern cities, in which large sums of money were raised for the benefit of the captives. They were finally sent at the expense of the United States Government to their African home, sailing November 25, 1841, and with five missionaries landing at Sierra Leone January 15, 1842. The Mendi Mission was established and supported by The American Missionary Association. Cinque died in 1878, while the Rev. Albert P. Miller, a well-known Congregational minister and more recently an elder in the A. M. E. Zion Church, had charge of the mission.

APPENDIX E

The Underground Railroad

The abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York and other States in the North was followed by unceasing attempts of the slave in the South to escape from bondage. He could not always use the well-established routes of travel, the public stage, the steam-

boat or, later, the railroad, for this would have invited attention and facilitated detection and apprehension to be followed by a return to more oppressive forms of bondage. In the first administration of President Washington, in 1793, a Fugitive Slave Law was passed which "empowered the owner, his agent or attorney, to seize the fugitive and take him before a United States Circuit or District judge within the State where the arrest was made, or before any local magistrate within the county in which the seizure occurred."

But this law was ineffectual, for slaves in increasing number continued to escape to the North and to Canada. The time of their departure, and the route were not only not within the public eye, but beyond detection. The route was as much a secret as though underground, hence the term "Underground Railroad" was understood to include all the agencies and instrumentalities by which the slave received the direction and aid that enabled him to obtain his freedom.

The number aided and escaping by means of the Underground Railroad has been placed as high as fifty thousand by Rev. W. M. Mitchell, one who was an active agent in this work, author of *The Underground Railroad;* and J. H. F. Claiborne, biographer of John A. Quitman, places the number as high as one hundred thousand.

The most comprehensive history of the movement is *The Underground Railroad* by Wilbur H. Siebert, professor of history in Ohio State University. There are others which treat of the movement in special sections, but this work is very exhaustive and as it contains a bibliography that is encyclopedic, it is commended without reserve to any student who seeks to investigate the subject in any and all of its phases.

A more stringent Fugitive Slave Law than the Act of 1793 was one of the provisions of the compromises of 1850, and it, more than any other legislative measure, crystallized the voice of protest against the aggressive demands of the Slave Power and organized the forces that determined the issue between slavery and freedom, and in the crisis of the Civil War ended in Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the enactment and incorporation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the National Constitution.

APPENDIX F

The Freedmen's Bureau

The Freedmen's Bureau was created by Act of Congress, passed March 3, 1865, and signed by President Lincoln, one of the last acts prior to his second inauguration. General Oliver O. Howard was named as Commissioner. Although not put in operation until after the cessation of hostilities, it was the evolution of plans employed by different commanding general army officers and the outcome of legislative effort on the part of Congress made for nearly two years, to provide for the solution of problems affecting the labor, the health, the education and legal and property rights of the many millions of blacks that the fortunes of war had brought within the Union lines and national control. General Howard proved to be the man for the position, and his choice of Assistant Commissioners displayed comprehensive knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the South and the men and methods equal to the unique situation.

Through the agency of the Bureau, tribunals were established for the trial of minor disputes and crimes where the freedman was a party. Landed estates were in many instances leased and labor given to the Negro, who hitherto was without either experience or knowledge in such matters. Elementary schools were established in nearly all the larger towns and cities in coöperation with the religious and benevolent associations in which all the Protestant denominations were represented, and the foundation for the colleges and normal schools at such places as Atlanta, New Orleans, Nashville, Raleigh, Richmond and Washington were laid. Although the Freedmen's Bureau, according to the statute was to terminate one year after the close of the War, it was continued until June 30, 1872.

Opinions differ as to the value of the Bureau in this transitional period, when the North and South had just left the battlefield and there was the need for adjustment and patience, as well as a wider outlook for the freedmen, but its work in the founding of the schools and colleges must remain its greatest monument.

Grant's Memoirs.
Autobiography. O. O. Howard.
The Freedmen's Bureau. Paul Skeets Peirce, Ph.D.

APPENDIX G

Medal of Honor Men

The following men received medals of honor from the United States Government. The reasons assigned are in every instance those given in the official records:

CIVIL WAR

Christian A. Fleetwood.—Sergt. Major 4th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Virginia, Sept. 29, 1864. Seized the colors, after two color-bearers had been shot down, and bore them nobly through the fight.

Alfred B. Hilton.—Sergt. Co. "H." 4th U. S. C. T. (Regimental Color-Sergeant) Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. In the charge when his associate sergeant was killed, caught up his flag also, and carried both until himself shot down, when he held up the flags and shouted: "Boys, save the colors!"

Charles Veal.—Corpl. Co. "D," 4th U. S. C. T. (Regimental Color-Guard) Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Seized the regimental colors after two color-bearers had been shot down, close to the enemy's works, and bore them through the remainder of the battle.

Milton M. Holland. Sergt. Co. "C," 5th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Took command of Co. "C," after all the officers had been killed or wounded, and gallantly led it.

James E. Bronson.—First Sergt. Co. "D," 5th U. S. C. T. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Took command of his company, all the officers having been killed or wounded, and gallantly led it.

Powhattan Beatty.—First Sergt. Co. "G," 5th U. S. C. T. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Took command of Co. "G," all the officers having been killed or wounded, and gallantly led it.

Robert A. Pinn.—First Sergt. Co. "I," 5th U. S. C. T. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Took command of Co. "I," after all the officers had been killed or wounded, and gallantly led it in battle.

Thomas R. Hawkins.—Sergt. Major 6th U. S. Colored Troops, Deep Bottom, Va., July 21, 1864. Rescued the regimental colors.

Alexander Kelly.—First Sergt. Co. "F," 6th U. S. C. T. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Gallantly seized the colors which had fallen near the enemy's line of abattis, raised them and rallied the men at a time of confusion and in a place of great danger.

Miles James.—Corporal Co. "B," 36th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 30, 1864. Having had his arm mutilated, making immediate amputation necessary, he loaded and discharged his piece with one hand and urged his men forward, this within thirty yards of the enemy's works.

James Gardiner.—Private Co. "I," 36th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Rushed in advance of his brigade, shot a rebel officer who was on the parapet, and then ran him through with his bayonet.

Edward Ratcliffe.—First Sergt. Co. "C," 38th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Commanded and gallantly led his company after the commanding officer had been killed. Was the first enlisted man to enter the enemy's works.

James H. Harris.—Sergt. Co. "B," 38th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Gallantry in the assault.

William H. Barnes.—Private Co. "C," 38th U. S. Colored Troops. Chapin's Farm, Va., Sept. 29, 1864. Among the first to enter the enemy's works, though wounded.

Decatur Dorsey.—Sergt. Co. "B," 39th U. S. Colored Troops, Petersburg, Va. (mine explosion). Bravery while acting as Regimental Color-Sergeant.

William Harvey Carney.—Sergt. Co. "C," 54th Mass. Enl. Volunteers, Fort Wagner, S. C., July 18, 1863. When color-sergeant fell, threw away his rifle, seized the colors and led the assault. Planted the colors on the parapet and kept them flying there for half an hour. Retreated under a storm of shot and shell, being three times wounded, but refused to be sent to hospital or to surrender the flag, until it could be placed in the hands of the survivors of his own regiment, and when they cheered him in doing so, simply replied: "Boys, I only did my duty. The old flag never touched the ground."

REGULAR ARMY

JOHN DENNY.—Sergt. Troop 9th U. S. Cavalry. Los Animas Canyon, New Mexico, Sept. 18, 1879. Removed a wounded comrade under a heavy fire to a place of safety.

BRENT WOODS.—Sergt. Troop "B," 9th U. S. Cavalry. New Mexico, Aug. 19, 1881. Saved the lives of his comrades, and the citizens of the detachment.

THOMAS BOYNE.—Sergt. Troop "C," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Mimbus Mountain, New Mexico, May 29, 1879. Cuchillo Negro, New Mexico, Sept. 27, 1879. Bravery in action.

CLINTON GREAVES.—Corpl. Troop "C," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Florida Mountains, New Mexico, Jan. 24, 1877. Gallantry in a hand-to-hand fight.

HENRY JOHNSON.—Sergt. Troop "D," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Milk River, Colorado, Oct. 2, 1879. Voluntarily left fortified shelter and under heavy fire at close range made the rounds of the pits, to instruct the guards. Fought his way to the creek and back to bring water to the wounded.

EMANUEL STANCE.—Sergt. Troop "F," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Kickapoo Springs, Texas, May 20, 1870. Gallantry on scout after Indians.

MOSES WILLIAMS.—First Sergt. Troop "I," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Foot Hills of the Cuchillo Negro Mountains, New Mexico, Aug. 16, 1881. Rallied a detachment, skillfully conducted a running fight of three or four hours, and by his coolness, bravery and unflinching devotion to duty in standing by his commanding officer, in an exposed position, under a heavy fire from a large party of Indians, saved the lives of at least three of his comrades.

WILLIAM O. WILSON.—Corpl. Troop "I," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Sioux Campaign, 1890. Bravery.

AUGUSTUS WALLEY.—Private Troop "I," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Cuchillo Negro Mountains, New Mexico, Aug. 16, 1881. Bravery in action with hostile Apaches.

GEORGE JORDAN.—Sergt. Troop "K," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Carrizozo Canyon, New Mexico, Aug. 12, 1881. While commanding the right of a detachment of nineteen men, stubbornly held his ground in an extremely exposed position and gallantly forced back a

much superior number of the enemy, preventing them from surrounding the command.

THOMAS SHAW.—Sergt. Troop "K," 9th U. S. Cavalry. Carrizozo Canyon, New Mexico, Aug. 12, 1881. Forced the enemy back after stubbornly holding his ground in an extremely exposed position, and prevented the superior numbers from surrounding his command.

WILLIAM MCBRYAN.—Sergt. Troop "K," 10th U. S. Cavalry. Arizona, March 7, 1890. Bravery in action with Apache Indians.

DENNIS BELL.—Private Troop "H," 10th U. S. Cavalry. Tayabacoa, Cuba, June 30, 1898. After a force had succeeded in landing and had been compelled to withdraw to the boats, leaving a number of killed and wounded ashore, he voluntarily went ashore in the face of the enemy and aided in the rescue of his wounded comrades, who would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy; this after several attempts had been frustrated.

FITZ LEE.—Private Troop "M," 10th U. S. Cavalry. Tayabacoa, Cuba, June 30, 1898. Record same as that of Dennis Bell.

WILLIAM H. THOMPKINS.—Private Troop "M," 10th U. S. Cavalry, and GEORGE WANTON, same troop and record as two preceding.

ISAIAH MAYS.—Corpl. Co. "B," 24th U. S. Infantry. Arizona, May 11, 1898. Gallantry in fight between Paymaster Wham's escort and robbers.

BENJAMIN BROWN.—Sergt. Co. "C," 24th U. S. Infantry. Arizona, May 11, 1898. Although shot in the abdomen in a fight between a paymaster's escort and robbers, did not leave the field until again wounded in both arms.

JOHN H. LAWSON.—Landsman *U. S. S. Hartford.* Mobile Bay, Aug. 5, 1864. Was one of the six men stationed at the shell whip on the berth deck. A shell killed or wounded the whole number. Lawson was wounded in the leg and thrown with great violence against the side of the ship, but as soon as he recovered himself, although begged to go below, he refused and went back to the shell whip, where he remained during the action.

AARON ANDERSON.—Landsman, *U. S. S. Wyandank.* Mattox Creek, March 17, 1865. Rendered gallant assistance, loading howitzer

while lying on his back, and then firing with such care and precision as to kill and wound many of the rebel party.

Robert Blake.—Contraband [1] *U. S. S. Marblehead,* in engagement with the rebel batteries on Stone River, December 25, 1862, serving as a powder boy, displayed extraordinary courage, alacrity and intelligence in the discharge of his duty under trying circumstances and merited the admiration of all.

Clement Dees.—Seaman on the *Pontoosuc.* Cape Fear River, N. C., Dec. 24, 1864. Personal valor.

Joseph B. Neil.—Seaman, *U. S. S. Powhatan.* Norfolk, Virginia, Dec. 26, 1873. Saved Boatswain J. G. Walton from drowning.

Joachim Pease.—Seaman, *The Kearsage,* in action with *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, June 19, 1864. For marked coolness and good conduct during the engagement.

Daniel Atkins.—Ship's cook (first-class) Torpedo Boat *Cushing.* Feb. 11, 1898. Saved from drowning Lieut. Joseph C. Breckenbridge.

Robert Penn.—Fireman (first-class) the *Iowa.* Guantanamo, Cuba. He hauled the fires of two boilers while standing on a board thrown across a coal bucket above one foot of boiling water, and while the water was still blowing from the boiler under 120 pounds' pressure.

APPENDIX H

The Freedmen's Bank

The Freedmen's Savings and Trust Co. was a corporation chartered by Congress, March 3, 1865. It proposed the establishment of a central bank in Washington, with branches at different centers in the South for the deposits of the lately emancipated class. There had been army banks for the deposits of the freedmen in some of the military divisions. These gave the suggestion for the organization of the corporation.

During the nine years in which it was in operation with thirty-four branches, it "received in the aggregate deposits amounting to $57,000,000

[1] Slave who had escaped to the Union forces, not an enlisted man.

and taking hold of the earnings of more than 70,000 depositors." To safeguard its funds the original policy to invest deposits only in Government bonds commended itself to citizens other than the Negro; accordingly many whites deposited.

The first misstep was when in May, 1870, the charter was amended so that instead of requiring two-thirds of the deposits to be invested exclusively in United States securities, one-half was subject to investment at the discretion of the trustees "in bonds or notes secured by mortgage on real estate in double the value of the loan." There were, however, no penal clauses providing for the infidelity or bad faith of the officers. Neither were the trustees required to invest any money in the enterprise nor was any bond imposed upon them except in a few limited cases.

The trustees construed the discretion given them to permit the transaction of a general banking business, and immense sums were loaned on worthless securities. Following the panic of 1873, the bank by a vote of the board of trustees was closed. By special act of Congress its affairs were placed in the hands of three commissioners. The affairs of the bank occupied a conspicuous place in the political campaigns to the purport that the Negro had been robbed right under the eye of the Government by men, many of them agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and leaders of the Republican Party in the South.

Two Congressional investigations probed the affairs of the bank. That of the Senate by a committee of which B. K. Bruce was chairman, simplified the machinery and decreased the expense of winding up its affairs.

At the time of the closing of the bank there were due to depositors $2,999,214.33, less special depositors $35,224.22, making subject to dividends $2,963,990.11 of which 61 per cent have been declared.

APPENDIX I

Prudence Crandall Incident

Prudence Crandall in 1833 admitted a colored girl as a student to her Girls' Boarding School at Canterbury, Conn. Notwithstanding opposition by whites to her retention Miss Crandall refused to ex-

clude her, and on the withdrawal of white patronage she defiantly opened a school for colored girls. This intensified opposition and caused the enactment of a law making such a school illegal under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Miss Crandall was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced. She refused to pay the fine or permit friends to do so. She was thrust into jail, but was subsequently released.

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CHRONOLOGY

1501. (a) Letter of Columbus in existence referring to Negroes in Guinea. (b) Instruction given to the effect that Negroes born in the power of Christians to be permitted to pass to the Indies and royal revenue (Spain) to receive money for the permits. Sir Arthur Helps' Spanish Conquest.

1505. King Ferdinand of Spain wrote to Ovando, "I will send more Negro slaves to you."

1510. He informed Don Diego Columbus that he had given orders to the officials at Seville that they should send 50 Negroes to work in the mines at Hispaniola. See Antonio de Herrera royal historiographer to Philip II.

1511. "I do not understand how so many Negroes have died; take much care of them."
From the accession of Charles V of Spain the importation of Negroes in the West Indies became a considerable industry.

1523. Monopoly given to Cortez who in the previous year had with him 300 Negro slaves.

1528. Nearly 10,000 in the New World.—Herrera.

1539. Francisco de Montego of Honduras sent a Negro to burn a native village.

1554. In Peru 30 Negroes accompanied a military force of 70 Spaniards and Francisco Hernandez.

1559. The Town Council of Santiago de Chile granted the petition of Tome Vasquez a free or enfranchised Negro to possess a lot of land in the town.

1526. St. Luke's day, Oct. 18, Lucas Vasque de Oyllon among the first to bring Negroes to the present territory of the U. S. (authority of Navarretc). He had explored our Eastern Coast and attempted to form a colony at San Miguel de Gualdape, since known as Jamestown, Va. Under his successor, a Porto Rican, the Negroes rebelled and broke up the settlement. This ended

the first introduction of slavery in the Continental Territory of the United States.

1513. Vasco Balboa was assisted by 30 Negroes in building the first ships on the Pacific Coast.

1530. Before this time there were enough Negroes in Mexico to warrant an effort to liberate themselves and establish a Government in the City of Mexico. See H. H. Bancroft.

1570. The followers of Bayamo, a Negro insurgent, who was captured and sent back to Spain, founded Santiago del Principe.

1540. A Negro slave of Hernando de Alarcon is mentioned as being the only one to undertake to carry a message from the Rio Colorado across the country to the Zunis in New Mexico.

1527. Estevanico or Estevanillo, a native of Azamon was one of the few survivors of the expedition of Narvaez. In 1539 with Friar Marcos de Niga they started out from Estevan, started out alone and discovered Cibola, one of the seven cities. Clements R. Markham says, "This is one instance of a Negro having taken an important part in the exploration of the continent. Estalevan was the discoverer of Cibo."

IMPORTANT EVENTS SINCE ABOLITION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

War of 1812: Enlistment of Negroes in Navy; Gen. Jackson's Proclamation at Battle of New Orleans.

1816. Organization African Colonization Society.

1816. A. M. E. Church Connectional organization.

1817. Convention of colored men to protest against American Colonization Society.

1820. Missouri Compromise. A. M. E. Zion Church forms connection.

1822. Denmark Vesey Insurrection, Charleston, S. C.

1827. *Freedom's Journal,* first Negro newspaper.
Emancipation in New York completed.

1830. First National Colored Convention.

1831. Nat Turner Insurrection.

1833. American Anti-Slavery Society.

1834. Prudence Crandall Incident.

1835. Mobbing of Garrison by "Broadcloth Mob."

1839. *Amistad* Captives.
1841. Advent of Frederick Douglass.
1847. "The North Star."
1850. Fugitive Slave Law.
1852. "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
1853. National Convention at Rochester, N. Y.
1854. Kansas-Nebraska Law, 1853.
1857. Dred Scott Decision.
1859. John Brown Raid.
1860. Nomination and Election—Abraham Lincoln.
1862. Opinion Edward Bates, Attorney General.
1863. Emancipation District of Columbia.
1863. Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1.
1863. Attack Port Hudson.
1863. Attack on Fort Wagner, July.
1865. Fall of Richmond; 13th Amendment passes Congress.
1866. Civil Rights, April 9; adoption of 13th Amendment.
1867. Organization of Howard University, March 2; Atlanta University, Nov. 15.
1868. Fourteenth Amendment; adoption of 14th Amendment.
1869. First U. S. Officer appointed by President Grant.
1870. Election of H. R. Revels; Seating of Rainey; Adoption 15th Amendment, March 30.
1874. Death of Charles Sumner.
1874. Failure Freedmen's Bank.
1875. Seating of B. K. Bruce, full term in U. S. Senate.
1877. Inauguration of Hayes; withdrawal of U. S. Troops from South.
1883. Unconstitutionality of Civil Rights Bill pronounced by U. S. Supreme Court.
1890. Mississippi Convention to nullify 15th Amendment.
1892. Second Election of Grover Cleveland.
1893. Death of D. A. Payne; Jos. C. Price.
1895. Death of Frederick Douglass; B. T. Washington at Atlanta.
1897. Organization American Negro Academy.
1898. Spanish-American War.

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